

National Civic Review

(Formerly National Municipal Review)

January 1960

Volume XLIX, No. 1

- ▶ **Dates, Hotel Picked for 1960**
- ▶ **Coroners' Days Numbered – Editorial**
- ▶ **Help for Our Cities**
Robert F. Wagner
- ▶ **Who'll Save the States?**
Vernon C. Myers
- ▶ **Climate for Growth**
Norris O. Johnson
- ▶ **State Legislative
Leaders Organize**



PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Civic Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Managing Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEBOUT
WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
H. M. OLMSTED

JACKSON PHILLIPS
PATRICIA H. SHUMATE
CLYDE F. SNIDER
JOHN WHEELER
WM. REDIN WOODWARD

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

CARTER W. ATKINS, Connecticut
HOWARD BARRETT, Nevada
CHESTER BIESEN, Washington
D. BENTON BISER, Maryland
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, Michigan
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, Maryland
DAVID CARLEY, Wisconsin
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, New York
WELDON COOPER, Virginia
C. A. CROSSER, Washington
PAUL DOLAN, Delaware
WILLIAM O. FARBER, South Dakota
JOSEPH P. FORD, New Hampshire
FOREST FRANK, Ohio
NORMAN N. GILL, Wisconsin
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, Rhode Island
WILLIAM A. GRELE, Colorado
M. H. HARRIS, Utah
EDITH L. HARY, Maine
ROBERT B. HIGHS AW, Alabama
EDWARD H. HOBBS, Mississippi
JUDITH N. JAMISON, California
WALTER E. KALOUPEK, North Dakota
HERMAN KEHRLI, Oregon
JOSEPH A. KELLY, Rhode Island
PAUL KESLO, Arizona
R. P. KNUTH, Missouri
CHARLES F. LEEDECKER, Pennsylvania
BOYD A. MARTIN, Idaho
EDWARD M. MARTIN, Illinois

JAMES W. MARTIN, Kentucky
STEPHEN J. MATTHEWS, Texas
DAYTON D. MCKEAN, Colorado
EDWIN B. McPHERON, Indiana
NORMAN MELLER, Hawaii
MRS. LUCY MICK, Alaska
WILLIAM MILLER, New Jersey
LENNOX L. MOAK, Pennsylvania
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, Vermont
PAUL J. PICCARD, Florida
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, Tennessee
ALLEN E. PRITCHARD, JR., Kansas
JOHN E. REEVES, Kentucky
ROLAND R. RENNE, Montana
BENNETT M. RICH, New Jersey
JACK W. RODGERS, Nebraska
RUSSELL M. ROSS, Iowa
ALBERT B. SAYE, Georgia
KARL M. SCHMIDT, New York
VICTORIA SCHUCK, Massachusetts
STANLEY SCOTT, California
LLOYD M. SHORT, Minnesota
CHARLES F. SPENCER, Oklahoma
EDWARD J. STEIMEL, Louisiana
PAUL D. STEWART, West Virginia
ROBERT H. STOUDEMIRE, South Carolina
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, Wyoming
PAUL W. WAGER, North Carolina
THOMAS J. WOOD, Florida
GLENN G. ZIMMERMAN, Arkansas

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

WILLIAM COLLINS, President

John S. Lisen, Vice President

Arthur B. Langlie, Vice President

Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Executive Committee

COUNCIL

George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., Chairman

Arthur W. Bromage, Ann Arbor
A. Earl Bryson, Colorado Springs
Hollis M. Carlisle, Springfield, Mass.
L. P. Cookingham, Fort Worth
John C. Cornelius, Minneapolis
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Philip C. Ebeling, Dayton
Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J.
Curtiss E. Frank, Chicago
Paul R. Gingham, Columbus, Ohio
Edward J. Green, Pittsburgh
Luther H. Gulick, New York
Francis A. Harrington, Worcester, Mass.
Harry T. Ice, Indianapolis

Betty L. Knox, Hartford
Harry J. Kruz, Los Angeles, Calif.
Myron C. Law, Seattle
Frank C. Moore, Albany, N. Y.
Cecil Morgan, New York
Vernon C. Myers, New York
Otto L. Nelson, Jr., New York
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven, Conn.
Robert H. Rawson, Cleveland
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Harold S. Shufelman, Seattle
James A. Singer, St. Louis
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati

Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

Jac Chambliss, Chattanooga
Robert S. Cushman, Chicago
Charles R. Diebold, Buffalo
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Carl J. Gilbert, Boston
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Thomas Graham, Louisville
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver

L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Va.
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
J. Barbara Monroe, New Orleans
Norris Nash, Oakland, Calif.
H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, N. J.
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Charles B. Stuart, Oklahoma City
H. V. Watkins, Jackson, Miss.
John F. Watlington, Jr., Winston-Salem

Mitchell Wolfson, Miami

News of the League

Dates, Hotel Picked for '60

The famous Hotel Westward Ho has been chosen as headquarters for the 66th annual National Conference on Government in Phoenix.

The League's Executive Committee set November 13 to 16 as the dates of the 1960 Conference in "The Valley of the Sun" where, according to the promotion folders, the summer spends the winter.

The Westward Ho, although in the heart of bustling, fast-growing Phoenix, maintains a resort atmosphere with its spacious patio of green lawns and giant palms adjacent to its large swimming pool with controlled water temperatures for year-round swimming.

Mid-November temperatures, according to Mayor Jack Williams, who has been inviting the League for some years to hold the conference in Phoenix, are always ideal, but the Westward Ho is completely air conditioned if, he says,

summer should just happen to linger longer than usual.

Mayor Williams, who showed a color motion picture film of Phoenix and other points of interest in the area at a luncheon of the League's Council during the Springfield conference, pointed out in his invitation that the city, "fastest growing in the nation," has become noted for its good government during the last decade.

Phoenix has won the All-America Cities award twice for its good government and surrounding Maricopa County has won the honor once.

Addresses Illinois Women

The annual program conference of the Illinois League of Women Voters, held in Chicago recently, was addressed by John E. Bebout, League assistant director, who discussed the need to modernize state constitutions.

Hotel Westward Ho's tropical patio and year-round swimming pool which will compete for attention with the sessions of the 66th annual National Conference on Government.





President Dale H. Gramley of Salem College, spokesman for Winston-Salem, describes achievements to All-America Cities jury, left to right, front row: Vernon C. Myers, publisher, *Look*; Willard V. Merrihue, president, Effective Citizens Organization; Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, president, League of Women Voters of the U. S.; Mark S. Matthews, former president, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Grace B. Daniels, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Harry J. Krusz, president, Harry Krusz & Co. Back row: Henry Toy, Jr., president, National Citizens Council for Better Schools; Dr. Anna L. Rose Hawkes, president, American Association of University Women; George H. Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion; Arnold S. Zander, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Donald H. Webster, University of Washington; James M. Osborn, Yale University.

Jury Hears All-America Stories

After the usual checking of "evidence" presented during the National Conference on Government at Springfield, the eleven winners of 1959 All-America Cities awards will be announced late in January.

Stories of the winners will be told in *Look Magazine*, co-sponsor of the contest with the National Municipal League, in the *REVIEW* and other publications.

Spokesmen for the 22 finalist cities, who included a former governor and several mayors, described progress made in their communities as the result of citizen action before a distinguished jury and a large audience November 16 and 17. Some spokesmen were backed up by large delegations, one California city sending 25 citizens who wore large badges. Some brought their own newspaper, radio and television coverage.

The spokesmen were:

R. L. McMillon, Rev. Francis Benton and City Manager Henry B. Nabers, for ABILENE, TEXAS; Ben C. Vine, ALTON, ILLINOIS; Leslie Pain, ANADARKO, OKLAHOMA; Henry J. Littlejohn, Mayor Lynn H. Cole and City Administrator E. R. Asmus, BALDWIN PARK, CALIFORNIA;

Also, City Councilman Dallas M. Williams, BURBANK, CALIFORNIA; Mayor Jeremiah Nixon, DE SOTO, MISSOURI; *Evening Journal* Manager Eugene C. Dorsey, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS; C. Warner Litten and William Schlossman, FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA; Mayor George Dannenbaum and *Daily Beacon* Publisher Jim Barber, GRANTS, NEW MEXICO;

Also, Mayor Ted Larimer, GREEN FOREST, ARKANSAS; Robert G. Dodge and J. Ballard Atherton, HONOLULU,

(Continued on page 60)

NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW

January 1960

Volume XLIX, No. 1

Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| NEWS OF THE LEAGUE | 1 |
| Dates, Hotel Picked for 1960 | 1 |
| EDITORIAL COMMENT | 4 |
| Coroners' Days Numbered | 4 |
| HELP FOR OUR CITIES | <i>Robert F. Wagner</i> 6 |
| WHO'LL SAVE THE STATES? | <i>Vernon C. Myers</i> 11 |
| CLIMATE FOR GROWTH | <i>Norris O. Johnson</i> 16 |

News in Review

| | |
|---|---|
| CITY, STATE AND NATION | <i>H. M. Olmsted, Editor</i> 22 |
| State Legislative Leaders Organize | 22 |
| METROPOLITAN AREAS | <i>William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor</i> 30 |
| Salem Citizens' Conference Reports | 30 |
| COUNTY GOVERNMENT | <i>Clyde F. Snider, Editor</i> 35 |
| Illinois Township Commission Reports | <i>Irving Howards</i> 35 |
| PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION | <i>George H. Hallett, Jr.,</i> <i>and Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors</i> 40 |
| Minority Wins in Cincinnati | <i>Forest Frank</i> 40 |
| TAXATION AND FINANCE | <i>Jackson Phillips, Editor</i> 43 |
| State, Local Debt Continues Increase | 43 |
| CITIZEN ACTION | <i>Elsie S. Parker, Editor</i> 45 |
| Dos and Don'ts in Political Campaigns | 45 |
| RESEARCHER'S DIGEST | <i>Patricia H. Shumate, Editor</i> 49 |
| Bureau Surveys Reapportionment | 49 |
| BOOKS IN REVIEW | 54 |

Second-Class postage paid at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Copyright 1960 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 50 cents. The contents of the Review are indexed in *Business Periodicals Index*, *Index to Legal Periodicals*, *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Editorial Comment

Coroners' Days Numbered

WHEN the Legislative Council of the state of Washington undertook a study to determine whether the ancient coroner system needed overhauling, the State Coroners' Association aroused itself to a defense of local autonomy.

The association expressed the opinion that a state medico-legal investigative system along the lines prescribed by the model issued in 1954 by the National Municipal League, in cooperation with the American Medical Association, American Bar Association and other highly qualified organizations, "would cost more than the present system."

Whether it would cost more or less in immediate outlay would be pretty difficult to determine; but the claims department of any great insurance company, victimized constantly because most coroners are in no way qualified to investigate suspicious deaths, could very easily point to the "hidden costs" which, in the last analysis, the public, not the companies, pay.

It costs less at the outset to have

a dirt road with a little gravel spread on it than it does to have paved superhighways; but they are no longer tolerated. They simply are not economical because they fail to measure up to the needs of the age.

Since publication of *A Model State Medico-Legal Investigative System* in 1954, twenty states have made progress in legislation designed to eliminate the unqualified coroner—to see that murder is recognized, that the innocent are exonerated, that criminal and civil court proceedings be provided with sound and impartial medical evidence and that hazards to health and safety be exposed. In 1959, for example, Iowa abolished all its coroners and Oregon abolished 35 of its 36. In January 1960, under the provisions of its new charter, Suffolk County, New York, appointed a medical examiner who will take the place of ten coroners, one for each town.

The days of the elected coroner are numbered and no amount of conjuring up false issues of economy and local autonomy will save them. People have had enough.

Unfortunately, Middletown Has Nonpartisan Germs

THE Republican town council in Middletown [Rhode Island] has dropped a Democratic doctor of medicine as health officer, replacing him by a Republican veterinarian. Now, if the council just could be sure that Middletown disease germs are Republican, too, everything would be hunky-dory because Re-

publican microbes would not dare break out among the populace to embarrass the town administration.

But since bacilli are neither Republican nor Democratic, but often fatal, everything is not hunky-dory in Middletown. The town ought to have somebody in office who can recognize an anti-human pathogenic

bacterium when he sees one, and can knock him out before the public health is endangered, but so far the council has not picked the best medical man available.

The council president says that a medical man is not needed for the job. Anyhow, if an epidemic does break out, he says, "we can always call in an M. D."

Fortunately, the state director of health does not share the belief that it is all right to lock the door after the pathogenic bacteria have escaped among the people. He says he will not approve the council's new appointee—and the law says a new town health officer must have the state director's approval before he may go to work.

Dr. Jeremiah A. Dailey, the state director, believes the town health officer ought to be a medical doctor. The council, in effect, has dared the director to order it to name a medical doctor. The director probably does not have the authority to order the council to do anything, but he does have authority to withhold his approval until the council appoints someone else to his liking.

The council ought to quit playing politics with the health officer appointment and it ought to quit playing tug o' war with the director. By naming a medical doctor as its second choice, the council will show the people that it intends to do its best to protect public health in town.

Reprinted from Providence Journal, December 3, 1959

Protection for Women

CHIVALRY is not dead in Mobile, Alabama, at least in the city commission. That august body, worried over injuries suffered by the beautiful belles whose spike heels caught in grates and cracks in pavement and sidewalks, outlawed the wearing of shoes with heels higher than an inch and one-half and less than one inch in diameter on public streets and sidewalks.

As with laws generally, however, there is a loophole. Any woman who

insists on being a slave to fashion may teeter around to city hall and get a permit to wear any kind of shoes she likes, or none.

All she has to do is sign away all her rights to sue the city for injuries suffered in a fall. Well, come to think of it, maybe it is less chivalry than protection of the city treasury from the rash of lawsuits that has grown in proportion to the success of the style.

Let the wearer beware!

Help for Our Cities

New York's mayor calls for U. S. attention to urban problems comparable to our farm programs.

By ROBERT F. WAGNER*

THE biggest challenge of the 1960s is to awaken fully to the fact that we are an urban nation and that our chief concerns are no longer rural but urban. Our major urban problems are generated by immense economic, social, political, international and scientific forces that affect the whole nation and are in turn affected by national policies. Locally, we feel the mighty impact of these forces and these policies—but we do not control them. Our cities, particularly the central cities of large metropolitan areas, cannot escape these problems and cannot solve them alone.

We in the New York area are making titanic efforts to find solutions. But the problems—the challenge—are not really local and cannot be tackled except by a great cooperative governmental effort—and this includes the federal government. They must be attacked by national policies meshed with local needs, policies developed with the full and ungrudging cooperation of the national government working with state and local governments.

* Mayor Wagner of New York City has been in his present position since 1954. He has served his city in various capacities—as New York state assemblyman, New York City tax commissioner, chairman of the City Planning Commission and president of the borough of Manhattan. This article is Mayor Wagner's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 16, 1959.

In 1860, 80 per cent of the population was rural, primarily employed in agriculture. In recognition of this fact, Congress in 1862 passed the Morrill Act. Each state was granted 30,000 acres of land for each seat it had in Congress and the purpose was to establish colleges of agriculture. Later came other legislation—the Hatch Act, providing for joint federal-state agricultural research; the Smith-Lever Act, providing for agricultural extension teaching and demonstration of improved methods in agricultural and home economics; the Smith-Hughes Act, providing assistance to states for the teaching of certain vocations including agriculture. The education, research and demonstration programs established under these acts have made American agriculture the productive marvel of the world.

But today we are no longer a nation of farmers. Some two-thirds of our population is urban. I propose that we accord the recognition to our urban status that was given to our rural status of a century ago. I propose that we meet the challenge of the 1960s by an Urban Development Act, the purpose of which will be to do for urban life what the first Morrill Act and following legislation did for rural life.

I want to discuss some of the problems coming up which stimulate this proposal—problems of which I am keenly aware because I see them

in New York City and the New York region. While New York is the largest urban area, the chief differences between it and other urban areas are of degree, not of kind.

Several of the large metropolitan areas have recently engaged in large-scale surveys, trying to see where they are heading. The New York metropolitan region has been surveyed by the Harvard University Littauer School under the sponsorship of one of our excellent civic groups, the Regional Plan Association. The conclusions of these studies are both encouraging and alarming. They are encouraging in their demonstration of the great vigor and vitality of our metropolitan region. They are alarming in the magnitude of the emerging problems revealed. We can see problems of growth, maturity and old age, all wrapped up in the same package.

* * *

Growth is expected to be very great indeed. Indications are that over the next 25 years the New York metropolitan region will grow in population by something like 45 per cent, or by some seven and a half million people. This is equivalent to spreading a metropolitan area the size of Chicago and its suburbs over and around the present New York region. We are familiar with the kinds of problems that urban growth has created in the past; the difference between the future and the past will lie in the accelerated pace.

Our central cities will not be able to settle back to enjoy peace and stability. Big city populations, while relatively stable in numbers, are

changing in composition and the changes are raising large social issues. Middle-income families with children tend more and more to congregate in the suburbs. The core cities are left with high concentrations at the two ends of the income scale.

The older sections of the central cities suffer the pains of age in their old commercial and residential sections and in street layouts designed for another age. Obsolete buildings bring on urban blight but getting rid of them is extraordinarily expensive. The cost of razing land in New York City may run from \$200,000 an acre up, and such land must often compete with suburban land which can be had for \$25,000 an acre or less.

New York City, to be sure, is in an enviable position compared with many other cities. The "topless towers" of the new office buildings and new apartments which visitors see in Manhattan are only spectacular examples of rebuilding or refurbishing by private and public enterprise. But despite all this, and despite our large investments in public housing and slum clearance, we still have not overcome the relentless erosion of urban obsolescence.

The fact is that in most of our cities the scale of effort thus far has not been sufficient for the quickening tempo of our times. We cannot stop to congratulate ourselves on the successes of the past, however massive, nor to argue about deficiencies. Slums in many areas are spreading; traffic congestion grows; urban mass transportation is on the downgrade;

juvenile delinquency is rising; air and water pollution are increasing. And this is happening everywhere; it is a part of the history of our time.

I do not want to belittle what has already been done by cooperative efforts of federal, state and local governments. They have united in welfare, health, public housing, urban redevelopment and renewal, highway building and other programs. But no one—not the federal government nor the state governments nor the local governments, nor the citizens of our metropolitan communities—has yet recognized fully the demands made on us by the new urban age.

* * *

The responsibility for meeting the challenges of the 1960s is upon all three levels of government. Our tasks require greater efforts from each level. I deplore the attempt at any level to draw back from urban problems on the ground that these are someone else's proper concern. So far as New York City is concerned, we are not withdrawing and will not withdraw. In suggesting greater cooperative efforts, I emphasize that the city is doing and will do locally everything that its ingenuity suggests and its resources allow. Least of all should local governments throw up their hands and say, "Let the other fellow do it"?

I want to point up a few things at each level which I think need to be done.

The efforts of the federal government to improve transportation have concentrated upon highway construction. There has been no concept at the federal level of balanced trans-

portation systems in urban areas, with rail and rubber each performing their appropriate tasks rather than competing with each other, with the inevitable deterioration of mass transit.

There has been little recognition of the possibility that maintaining existing rail commuter and rail transit lines, and in some cases even building new lines, might allow the saving of many millions of dollars on urban highway construction. The federal government has shown little concern for what happens to an urban area when commuter service goes bad. A serious backward step was taken when the national transportation act of 1958 empowered railroads to abandon deficit commuter service without compulsory review by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The states, by and large, also have been oblivious to the needs of urban areas for balanced transportation. An exception is the step taken this year by New York State. Commuter railroads serving New York suburban communities are helped under an arrangement by which local governments bear part of the costs. But the commuting problem has not been solved.

The transportation problem is a clear example of the need for federal participation in the solution of urban problems. Transportation in urban areas must be treated as one integrated problem, not as a set of unrelated matters which can be dealt with individually by highway agencies, public utility regulatory agencies, private railroads, transportation authorities and so on. And

I believe the commuter railroads ought not to be the stepchildren of transportation—treated with less consideration than the federally-subsidized airlines, the federally-subsidized shipping lines and the federally-subsidized highways for private automobiles and trucks.

Finally, I think we must all be seriously concerned by reports that the federal government is considering decreasing its support of urban highways to concentrate upon completing the rural part of the national highway plan. Such a move would indeed be a flight from reality. It presumes that the cities can finance the urban parts of the plan even though, mile for mile, urban highway construction is by far the most costly part. It is also a flight from equity. At least 50 per cent of the gasoline tax money which finances the national program comes from urban circulation.

* * *

The need in the areas of housing and urban redevelopment is mainly for more resources. A wide range of measures to promote housing has been employed in New York City. Its low and moderate rental housing operation has so far produced decent dwellings for some 400,000 people. Despite enormous effort, we have another 250,000 families living in dwellings which are substandard or overcrowded. At least 90 per cent of these families would be eligible for public housing under federal regulations if housing were available.

Private residential construction is handicapped by the very high cost of land, land clearance, labor and materials. Private builders simply

cannot create housing in the central city for the so-called middle-income families at rents these families can afford.

Somehow or other, we must make possible the building of more middle-income housing in the central city. If we fail, the cities will be increasingly places of the rich and the poor, with the poor confined to obsolete dwellings supplemented by such public housing as the city may build with federal and state help.

The tendency of low-income groups, including people from underprivileged areas, to congregate in large cities is to concentrate on the central city responsibility for assisting those who are economically stranded. Also, the central cities are called upon for services to those who come from underprivileged areas who must be helped to attain the general levels of health, education and productivity of the community.

New York, even more than other large cities, has always been a gathering place for people who come from underprivileged areas seeking opportunity. But, partly because of high modern standards of service and an increased awareness of human needs, the city's services to its new generations of immigrants are more extensive and more costly than ever before. They require, for instance, special educational services. They require special attention in matters of health, welfare, housing, recreation and delinquency.

Communities saddled with disproportionately large expenditures for such purposes, as are all our large central cities, are faced with immense budgetary problems. These

result from nation-wide social and economic forces. They are a national as well as a local responsibility. The federal government and the states cannot turn away from them.

Local governments must accept responsibility for common metropolitan concerns. The first function is simply one of communication—of local governments in a metropolitan area getting together to discuss their common problems and their differences and laying the groundwork for concerted action on matters that concern all of them. In the New York metropolitan region, we have had encouraging success with this function of communication through the device of the Metropolitan Regional Council, a voluntary organization composed of elected officials of the counties and cities in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut metropolitan area.

The Metropolitan Regional Council now has over three years of experience behind it and an imposing list of accomplishments, considering the fact that the organization has depended entirely upon voluntary cooperation. Our next step, now under study by the local governments of the region, is to make the organization somewhat more formal, with a full-time secretariat and financing by the jurisdictions represented.

Beyond the work of consultation and exchange of information on current matters, I see the following needs for council consideration.

First, we need to look now at the requirements of some seven and a half million population which will be superimposed on the New York

region in the next 25 years, on top of the fifteen million already here. We should know where they will live, their requirements for public services, for recreational space, for water and so on.

Second, we need a transportation plan big enough and efficient enough to service the metropolitan community of the future. I visualize a truly effective plan as coordinating the roles of mass transit, commuter railroads and private motor vehicles, with each assigned its appropriate function. The objective should be swift, comfortable transportation for all purposes.

* * *

Third, we need to devise governmental machinery for handling functions which require area-wide jurisdiction or cooperation. Examples are air and water pollution control. Contamination of water often originates far from the point of pollution. Smoke and dirt in the air show no respect for political boundary lines.

This is a large order. I am convinced that local officials must take the leadership in developing means of regional cooperation.

The states and federal government can help in several ways. First, they can help by not standing in the way and by granting authority to new local government organizations to perform necessary functions. Second, they can help by greater efforts for internal consistency of federal and state programs affecting particular metropolitan regions. Even existing federal and state programs concerned with housing, highway planning, development

(Continued on page 21)

Who'll Save the States?

Publisher calls for increased citizen action and understanding of the faults causing impotence.

By VERNON C. MYERS*

WE MAY well ask ourselves, What state are our states in, anyway? Aside from being convenient—and sometimes inconvenient—political subdivisions of our federal republic, what functions do they perform that local governments or the national government could not do just as well? How many people—off hand and without looking it up—could name six important functions that are primarily the responsibilities of the state rather than other units of government.

Of the average voter, it would be interesting to know how many have read their state constitution, or would even recognize a state constitution if it came up and looked them squarely in the eye. Or how many—a few months or weeks after an election—could name any state official except the governor. I doubt if many could pass the test.

There seems to be a good reason for this ignorance. For many years the states have been the victims of poor public relations. They loom large in the hearts of their citizens. Their topography is known—often in minute detail. Their largest cities are points of pride; their leading

industries are familiar even to school children. But, governmentally speaking, the visibility of the state to the average citizen is so low as to be almost non-existent.

On the subject of this low visibility, the eminent political scientist, Dr. Dayton McKean of the University of Colorado, observed a few years ago that not one public opinion study had ever been made to determine how much citizens know about the politics of their state and what their attitude is toward those politics.

"But in the absence of such a survey," he continued, "it is probably safe to assume that the level of information is very low. It is also safe to assume that, since most newspapers find the greatest news value in the scandals, crimes and other misdeeds in state politics, they omit or give little space to what is well and honestly accomplished.

"Accordingly, the pictures of state affairs the voters have in their heads," Dr. McKean concludes, "are mostly of strife and struggle among a lot of fools and crooks."

That is a strong indictment of both the press and our state officials and I am not sure I will go all the way with Dr. McKean. But we know there is much truth in what he says. State governments have often suffered from lopsided reporting, or no reporting at all. It is a small wonder that the average citizen

* Mr. Myers, publisher of *Look Magazine*, is also vice president of Cowles Magazines, Inc. He is a member of the governing Council of the National Municipal League. This article is Mr. Myers' address before the National Conference on Government of the League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 17, 1959.

tends to wash his hands of what he regards as the whole dreary mess.

Albert Einstein once said that it is far more difficult to understand politics than atomic physics for the simple reason that politics is much more complicated than physics.

I think the good Dr. Einstein must have made this observation after seeing a few state constitutions. For outmoded, poorly written constitutions are at the bottom of many, if not most, of the problems of administration, finance and inefficiency facing many states today. Conscientious state officials are often handicapped by the constitutions under which they serve.

* * *

It is shocking—in this jet age when the humblest citizen has learned to think in terms of incredible speeds and unbelievable potentials of physical power—to realize that 35 states still operate under wordy nineteenth century constitutions loaded with Victorian detail. And the constitutions of three states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont—date back to the eighteenth century—but without the genius and flexibility of the federal constitution.

In this connection, I should like to point out that age alone does not make a constitution bad. The national constitution, as we all know, has required amendment only 22 times in close to two centuries.

I am not an expert on state government, but those who are say that one of the prime faults of state constitutions is their bulk. They are too long, they are obscurely written and they are likely to be overbur-

dened with statutory features. The average state constitution is more than four times as long as the United States constitution—Louisiana's holding the record. It is 27 times as long as the national one.

The problem in the majority of states is the need to simplify and revise the constitution. A few states, such as Arizona, have had relatively good constitutions since the beginning. And a few, like New Jersey, have acquired them in recent years through persistent trail-blazing citizen action.

But in most states bulky constitutions are a tangled briar-patch. The colorful word picture of the situation in Michigan's state capital, given by Tilden B. Mason of the Citizens Research Council of that state, might well apply to a large number of other state governments. Mr. Mason said, "An organization chart of the Michigan state government exhibits all the weird confusion of a 20-mule team harnessed in the dark by a one-armed idiot."

Michigan, in fact, is a good case in point, in that its present financial difficulties have roots in its constitution. The Citizens Research Council, the universities of the state, and the League of Women Voters have all addressed themselves to research into Michigan's basic constitutional problems. Across-the-board citizen interest, however, has heretofore been lacking. To fill this gap, only last spring a nonpartisan citizen action group called Citizens for Michigan was launched under the leadership of George W. Romney, president of American Motors. One of its first aims is to analyze the

state constitution and recommend improvements. We shall all watch with interest the progress of this new effort.

At any rate, here is an excellent beginning. I hope it will set the pace for the formation of citizen groups of a like nature in other states where research organizations are paving the way. As Charles Edison and others who battled for the new constitution for New Jersey can affirm, the hardest job comes after the research work is done. It is no easy task to acquire a new state constitution. The voter at the polls has the final word and he is the man to whom state affairs are practically invisible. As we would say in the advertising world, state government has an ill-defined "product image" for the ultimate consumer—that is, the citizen who pays through his taxes for the services the state performs. It may take years of political campaigning—against pressure groups, entrenched machines and public apathy—to convince the man who casts the ballot.

Apart from poor constitutions, here are a few other major difficulties standing in the way of good state government.

Many may recognize the first of these as applying to their own states—and that is the low respect accorded state legislatures. This low respect is often the cause of the indifference and lethargy with which these bodies approach their responsibilities.

Most states pay their legislators ridiculously small amounts, even taking into account allowances for travel and other expenses. Only

thirteen states pay legislators as much as \$1,500 a year in salary—and, except for California, which pays \$6,000, only two of these, New York and Illinois, grant their lawmakers as high a wage as \$5,000. The dangers inherent in this type of parsimony are well known. The temptation to seek remuneration for legislative services elsewhere is an ever-present one to those running for office.

A sad commentary on this subject was recently made by Dr. Jefferson B. Fordham, dean of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, who said, "In my judgment, the most serious failure in American political development is the state legislature."

Citizen action could help raise the prestige of state law-making bodies so that more able, public-spirited men and women would be attracted to serve. Passage of a referendum to give state legislators a more equitable compensation for their services would be, in most states, a step in the right direction.

In addition, citizen committees might also turn their attention to the increasingly serious problem of representation. With some justice, big cities complain that they are not represented in state government in proportion to their population. New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, Denver, Los Angeles—practically every great metropolis across the nation sees itself as the stepchild of the state, contributing the most to the state treasury but getting back the least, because it cannot match the voting power of the rural counties.

It becomes a vicious circle. The states would have a slim time of it without the rich tax harvest supplied by the cities—and the cities would find themselves oddly situated with respect to the nation if they actually managed to secede, as they sometimes threaten. Now here is an area for serious study on the part of objective, nonpolitical citizen groups.

A second major weakness often found in state governments is what the experts call "disintegrated administration." By this they mean that the governor is not master in his own house. Unlike the president of the United States, he cannot appoint his own cabinet. His department heads are separately elected or otherwise chosen so that he has little or no authority over them.

A citizens action committee in any state suffering from this problem would find it worth while to study the sorry results of "disintegrated administration" that have accrued over the decades in states with a long history of fragmentation of the executive branch.

* * *

The third problem, I should like to point out, hits the taxpayer's pocketbook square in the bulls-eye. It is the fee system, which is still much too common. Whatever the fee system was intended to accomplish when it was first instituted back in the mists of history, it has now become a field day of opportunities for personal profiteering at the expense of the taxpayer. In numerous states where this system prevails, tax collectors have been known to make up to \$50,000 a year in fees alone; auto license

branch managers, from \$80,000 to \$100,000 annually; sheriffs, up to \$33,000—much of it often made out of the allowance to feed prisoners; and probate judges' fees have been known to run as high as \$107,000 per year. All of these fees are over and above the salary carried by each office. What is more, they are legally and constitutionally paid out of moneys that would otherwise accrue to the state treasury. Few voters know of the gross profits permitted to individual officeholders under this system.

My final example of major state problems is the restrictive nature of many constitutions, which handcuffs state government in performing the functions expected of government in our modern civilization. The federal government has extended its functions into numerous local areas for the simple reason that the states were unwilling or unable to act. One can think of a dozen ways in which the federal government has stepped up its influence and financial aid in the areas of education, highway construction, welfare, health and natural resources.

Here we confront a great need for citizen committees to study and re-evaluate functions now performed by the federal government which might better be performed by the states.

President Eisenhower called for just such a study when he addressed the Governor's Conference in Williamsburg in June 1957. If action is not taken in this area—and taken soon—there is danger that the states may lose their powers by default. As Governor Cecil Underwood of West Virginia remarked

in 1958, at the National Conference on Government in Colorado Springs, "I do not fear that the federal government will take away any of the autonomy of the states, but that the states will give it away."

I have mentioned only a small number of the characteristic problems the people of the various states need to solve if we are to hold onto the strength and flexibility of our own unique union of 50 states.

* * *

I recommend that we train our sights now on the neglected target of state government. As a starter, here are a few concrete suggestions.

First, strengthen the basic research into state governments. There are 50 states—each with different identities and different problems. Yet the research and knowledge now available is insufficient for a confident diagnosis of each state's ailments.

Second, make a public opinion survey to determine voter information and voter attitudes toward state government.

Third, enhance the "product image" of the state. Enlist the talents of those experienced in the communication of ideas—the newspapers, radio and television stations. And above all, call on those skilled in making a product visible to the public—the advertising and public relations men.

The states deserve a better break than they are getting from their citizens. They are the foundation of the union. They are the source of power of all local units of government within their borders. The duties they perform are not remote

or recondite—they are close to the people. Public welfare, public health, education, highway transportation, industrial safety, parks, recreation and conservation, and the regulation of utilities, banks, insurance, professions—these touch on the daily lives of every one of us.

A magnificent image of the state and its political responsibilities begs to be presented to the public. I sincerely hope to see within the next twelve months the nuclei of many citizens' committees organizing for action at the state level. I am confident that the League of Women Voters as usual will be in the vanguard of such a movement. I foresee with certainty that business and professional men and women will assume roles of leadership. And I urge my colleagues in all types of publication—the members of the press and the advertising fraternity—to present both the facts and the truth about their states to the voters.

I draw a distinction between fact and truth. For the two are not always the same. You will find in studying the problems of state governments that there is sometimes a subtle difference between fact and truth. A good state constitution may be a *fact*—but the *truth* is that the constitution is a poor place to seek guarantees against bad or irresponsible government. There can be no substitute for a wise, concerned and active citizenry. If we can help keep strong the average citizen's belief in himself and in his power to improve his towns and cities, his state and his nation, then we shall have been well rewarded.

Climate for Growth

Economist sees reform of archaic tax laws, some control of public debt as essential policies.

By NORRIS O. JOHNSON*

THE decade of the sixties is upon us. It is usual for new centuries to be ushered in with something beyond the usual year-end tolling of the bells. But it is a little remarkable for a decade, as this one has been, to be eagerly anticipated some years in advance. The commonly cited reason is that the "war babies" will come of age during the sixties. They will get married, set up households, raise families. Markets will be enlarged. We have had some fabulous accounts of how the economy will grow.

While "war babies" is the apt phrase, the big jump in birth rate came in 1946 and 1947. And it has held up in the years since then. The children born in the great depression—the postwar teenagers—have been making up for their shortage of numbers by marrying earlier and tending to raise larger families than did their parents. The age distribution of the population has gone askew.

One initial point is that it is easier to produce population increase than equivalent increase in goods and

services. Of course, we want more than equivalent increase: we want rising standards of living and increased leisure. We will need a climate in which enlarged numbers of people of working age will want to work, will see and seize opportunities to get ahead in life and will have the intellectual equipment from solid schooling.

A second point is that the sixties represent a challenge rather than something to be taken for granted. Numbers of people of working age will grow, but numbers of children and retired people are expected to grow relatively faster. We can know in our own family lives how an added child or the retirement of a parent creates a new expense burden for the breadwinner. The same goes for the society as a whole. It takes more effective and efficient effort on the part of workers to sustain the expense and enlarge the per capita accomplishment.

An incidental moral here is that we may have to be a little careful prolonging school years and hastening retirements, chiselling the work force at both ends. We will have to be a little careful of saddling a relatively shrunken work force with still higher income, school and social security taxes. At the present time we have a work force of 72 million supporting one and a half extra persons each. Ten years from now we may be asking working men and

* Mr. Johnson is vice president of The First National City Bank of New York and co-editor of its *Monthly Letter on Economic Conditions*. In 1956 he served as a member of the Advisory Committee to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on Study of Banking Laws. This article is Mr. Johnson's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 16, 1959.

women to support 1.7 extra persons each.

The challenge of the sixties is for human ingenuity in finding ways to improve productive efficiency and for a capitalistic society to get together enough capital.

There are many aspects to growth. We want more than growth in dollar magnitudes, for all that takes is indulgence of inflation. We should also want something else than growth in the numbers of responsibilities we shrug off onto the federal government.

* * *

We will need to keep incentives alive and guard private enterprise—the mainspring of our progress—from the encroachments of socialism. You know from personal experience how often the question comes up of giving financial aids to keep or attract industry in the local community. The trouble may be with municipal government or a labor situation. But one general cause of difficulty is the federal tax octopus, seizing the fruits of success. Pools of capital do not accumulate as they used to before progressive income taxation repealed the law of compound interest. Easier taxation of capital gains has alleviated—but not eliminated—the problem.

One serious effect of the burden of federal taxes is to constrict revenue sources for local governments and to create temptations to run to Washington for money. This process of centralization runs against our tradition. It breaks down local self-reliance. It adds to bureaucratic overhead. It invites spending in certain ways just to get “federal funds

for free” even though spending in some other ways might be preferred in the community. We will need to watch these trends unless the decade of the sixties is to become the decade when people lost their control over local spending.

As the economy grows the revenue base for government also grows. But the federal government, through heavy reliance on progressive income taxes, takes more than a proportionate share out of income increases. Thus, the growth curve for funds available for individuals to spend and to pay in local taxes is flattened. This situation grows out of our procrastination in dealing with income tax reform. Other countries, abandoning punitive taxation, have been reforming their tax structures and giving stimulus to economic growth. This is a lesson to be learned out of the resurgence of Germany, only the most dramatic of the cases that can be cited—England, Canada, Australia.

One of the most interesting and instructive things that developed out of Mr. Khrushchev's recent visit was his candid observation that they make greater use of incentive systems to increase production. In this comment, reported in the President's press conference of October 28, he was talking about our tax system. Maybe it is our tax system that gives Russia so much confidence she can beat us.

Dr. Solomon Fabricant, director of research of the National Bureau of Economic Research, estimated five years ago that, if the growth trends of the past continue, average family income in the United States

might rise to \$25,000 over 80 years. Under the current schedule of progressive tax rates, this would put the average family into the 38 per cent tax bracket. A single person, without the special relief of income-splitting, would find himself in the 59 per cent bracket. More and more above-average individuals, in business, government, the arts and professions, would face punitive 70, 80 or 90 per cent rates.

Could anyone seriously expect the economy to keep growing in this kind of a strait-jacket?

* * *

I do not see how the bright dreams for the sixties can be fulfilled without dealing with archaic tax laws. Chairman Wilbur D. Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee properly stresses the need for a tax climate more favorable to economic growth and a broad, uniform tax base with low tax rates.

Congressman Mills has in mind the matter of tax loopholes. Professor Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin advised a congressional committee as long as five years ago that "the impression is widely shared that the Congress deliberately throws a high rate schedule to the public as a demagogic bone and then as deliberately allows escapes from taxes that make these rates specious." As Professor Roy Blough of Columbia pointed out in his book on *The Federal Taxing Process*, published in 1952:

Serious discriminations result, since only certain fortunately situated persons and businesses are able to use the escape routes. The enlargement of lobbying pressure to achieve larger

loopholes is encouraged. Deterioration of the tax system is likely to spread, as more persons and businesses seek opportunities to avoid the high rates.

Congress has no less an authority than the late Randolph Paul, legal counsel to the Treasury in the Roosevelt administration, for the view that rates need to be corrected to stop the process of erosion. He warned the Congress:

This process of erosion and patchwork amendment must stop somewhere; otherwise the statute, even now almost hopelessly complicated, will approach the ridiculous, and taxpayers will have to spend more and more of their time and energy on the job of keeping their tax liability at a minimum.

The way I would put it is that we have ourselves in a vicious circle where the rates are so oppressive that loopholes are needed for breathing. We need imperatively to broaden the base of federal taxation and remove rates which discourage effort and create incentives for avoidance.

There is the further question—with which I will not attempt to deal—as to whether we are not mistaken in taxing work and production so heavily and consumption so lightly.

Out of population growth we are likely to have capital shortage. The individual raising a family sees this when he discovers needs for a bigger kitchen table and refrigerator and an addition to his home. As boys and girls reach maturity, the needs which we have been experiencing for more schools will be translated not only into demands for more

housing but also and most emphatically into needs for tools for them to handle and machines for them to run so that they can support themselves in the style to which they have become accustomed.

Federal tax reform can help, most particularly in supporting essential growth of equity capital. Trade unions can help, recognizing needs for profit plowback to finance job-making expansion and for interest rates that attract and build savings. I regret as much as any taxpayer that the U. S. Treasury has had to pay as much as 5 per cent on borrowed money recently. But I think we have to recognize this as a cost of the deficit-financing binge we went on during the 1958 business recession as well as a reflection of the heavy income taxes which make the interest rates more apparent than real.

* * *

There is encouragement in the response of people to higher interest rates. This, along with the progress we are making toward a balanced federal budget, has helped contain the incipient business boom. Some say that the so-called tight money policy is too effective. Yet I doubt that it has kept as many people out of work as the strikes. The quest for full employment has many obstacles and one of these is the tendency of the workman to demand more than the traffic will bear when jobs are indeed plentiful.

There remains the question of economic fluctuation, boom and depression. If past experience is any guide business will continue to fluctuate. We will do well if we have

no worse recessions than we had during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. We can try to do better but this will take some improvement in techniques of fiscal policy. We will have to get Congress to tighten up on spending when revenues are overflowing as well as to recognize the inevitability of deficits when business and revenues slump.

Our type of free enterprise economy is and always has been affected by cyclical swings in production, employment opportunities and credit availability. In these swings there is a lot of human psychology. When everyone spends more freely, everyone's business is better and we all feel like spending more and also borrowing more, anticipating future income. The inflationary pressure must be resisted by limitations on available credit. We cannot all spend our current incomes and more too because there is not that much production. If we try we just get a rash of price increases to cut our real incomes down to what we can afford. At some point it becomes plain that the pendulum of optimism has swung too far. Failures to sell as much or earn as much as expected lead toward general retrenchment.

Let me use the word depression. In the old days we had primary postwar depressions, when inflation was violently shaken out of the economic system. After ten years or so we would have secondary postwar depressions after a capital investment boom had filled up war-born shortages. It seemed to some experienced observers that the investment

boom of 1955-57 might have exhausted near-term needs for heavy capital re-equipment. In other words, we might have been ready for something more serious in the way of recession or depression. We will have to be careful and restrain booms, to avoid the morning-after effect.

One visible source of danger is the inflationary bias in federal fiscal policy. In this period of broad prosperity, we should be retiring government securities instead of trying to sell more at a time when most people and investors have other preferred uses for funds.

On paper, compensatory fiscal policy makes a great deal of sense. It seems reasonable to increase government outlays in periods of business recession to avoid wastage of available manpower and carry out useful public projects. Likewise it is desirable to cut government outlays back in periods of business boom so that manpower can be shifted to industries serving the consumer and the business community.

Compensatory fiscal policy also makes sense in terms of the financial markets. Government bond offerings to finance deficits can make use of the redundant savings supply in recession when individuals and business firms cut back their expenditures and borrowings; conversely, retirement of government debt in boom periods can help finance enlarged consumer and business outlays.

It is always easy to authorize increased government expenditures. The trouble comes when it is time to reduce government expenditures

again. Senator Paul Douglas, in his book *Economy in the National Government*, pointed out that big government expenditure programs have been used to counter periods of reduced economic activity as far back as the construction of the noble buildings of the Acropolis by Pericles, but added that it is unwarranted to assume "that governmental expenditures are like electric lights which can be turned off or on at will. In real life this is not so. There tends instead to be a systematic bias in favor of expanding expenditures and against contracting them."

* * *

A preferable approach would be to use tax reductions and reforms as a stimulant in times of business recession. One incidental benefit would be to stimulate the essential savings-investment process.

There almost seems to be a natural law that federal expenditures shall equal or exceed revenues. You remember the classic phrase, "God help the surplus." The hardest thing is to develop revenues for debt retirement. About the only time that expenditures get cut back is when the public is in a mood to demand tax reductions. At least that was the experience in 1948 and again in 1953-54. We got big spending cuts and tax reductions with an extra dividend of stimulation to private enterprise.

It is really quite incredible that cash outlays of the federal government since 1954 have risen all the way from \$70 billion to \$95 billion. If the citizen had insisted on tax rate

reforms I doubt that any such rise would ever have occurred.

On the brighter side there is the fact that there is widespread public support for the principle of a balanced budget. Federal surpluses for debt retirement and tax reforms, however, elude us.

I dwell particularly on these fiscal questions because the fiscal situation is a weak link, not only exciting inflationary sentiment and raising rates demanded by bond buyers and saving depositors, but also providing no substantial debt retirement to relieve the visible strains that develop in the money and capital markets.

Tight money threatens to constrain and constrict the economy as we cross the threshold into the sixties. What adds to difficulties is resistance in the Congress to giving the Treasury power to pay going rates in the market on bond financing and prevent further deterioration of the public debt structure.

We can get straightened out if we recognize that a government must pay higher rates if it wants to carry \$285 billion of indebtedness, keep high income tax rates, and take risks with inflationary fiscal policies. But the better way to brighten the outlook for a stable dollar and an energetically growing economy is to go to work building surplus for debt and tax reductions.

I like the title, climate for growth. It is good we are looking ahead. It

is all right to dream about great figures that we can achieve. But these things will be pipe dreams unless we settle down to examine ways and means. Progress is a result of human effort wisely and economically expended. We need to focus on stimulating, releasing that energy.

HELP FOR OUR CITIES

(Continued from page 10)

of water and other resources, and location of military, have, in their entirety, a great influence upon the nature of metropolitan growth. There is nowhere any effective machinery for coordinating policies either at the federal or state level, nor for cooperating with local governments in defining and meeting metropolitan needs.

We need action in all the areas I have mentioned. But perhaps our greatest needs have to do with research and experimentation in the fields of urban government, urban technology and urban planning. We need trained men and informed citizens.

May I return to my proposal for an urban development act. We have seen how the Morrill Act of 1862 and its supplementary legislation enriched rural life over the past century. A new act, geared to the new needs of Americans in mid-twentieth century, has even greater potentialities for enriching urban life.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

H. M. Olmsted, Editor

State Legislative Leaders Organize

Nation-wide Gathering Convenes in New York

THE first conference of legislative leaders from the various states, called by the majority and minority leaders of the New York State legislature, met in Albany on December 7 and 8 and closed in New York City on December 9. It was attended by 118 Democratic and Republican legislators from 34 states and the territory of Guam.

In a keynote address on December 7, Harvey Walker, professor of political science at Ohio State University, said that many legislatures are shackled by "biennial sessions, limited sessions, severely limited salaries and other devices." Both he and Walter J. Mahoney, majority (Republican) leader of the New York Senate, warned against undue encroachment of the executive upon the legislature. Professor Walker criticized the veto power of governors and asserted that their exclusive power to convene special sessions "never should have been permitted to slip out of legislative hands."

Fiscal problems and education were given particular attention in separate panel meetings. Intergovernmental relations at the state and local level constituted another important topic of discussion.

Warnings were given that the states, individually and together, must accept responsibility for many pressing problems or forfeit power to the federal government. Richard R. Stout, president pro tempore of the New Jersey Senate, asserted that if New Jersey, New York and Connecticut fail to recognize a duty

as to interstate planning in the New York metropolitan area the federal government will step in by default. He listed such problems as rapid transit, commuter buses and railroads, air pollution and possible sharing of fire, police, sewage, school and other local services.

Joseph F. Carlino, speaker of the New York Assembly, discussing federal grants, declared that they have an illusory quality and the states should realize that all federal programs are financed in the long run by state residents.

While the legislators were in Albany Governor Nelson Rockefeller gave them a reception and spoke at a banquet. In New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner entertained them at his official residence, Gracie Mansion.

The legislators decided to form a permanent organization, the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders, to provide a forum for state legislators comparable to the Governors' Conference and to protect and augment the prestige and power of the legislatures. Senator Mahoney was elected as president for the first year; Carl Burgess, majority leader of the South Dakota House of Representatives, was chosen as vice president. An executive committee was established, with members from Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, New Mexico, Nevada, California and Hawaii. It was agreed that a 1960 meeting be held. An invitation was extended by the Hawaii representatives.

State Redistricting Makes Slow Progress

The long uphill struggle to achieve more equitable apportionment of the states for purposes of electing legislators continued in 1959 with at least a moral

victory in Minnesota,¹ breaking a 36-year lag in redistricting; a negative victory in Florida,² where a highly unsatisfactory reapportionment plan was defeated at the polls; and hopeful efforts in Tennessee³ and various other states.

In Minnesota the plaintiffs in *Magraw et al. v. Donovan et al.*, wherein the present validity of the legislative redistricting act of 1913 was attacked, have sought and been granted a dismissal without prejudice, inasmuch as their purposes "have been fulfilled and satisfied to such an extent by the reapportionment law passed by the 1959 Minnesota legislature that they no longer desire to maintain and prosecute this suit."

Richard S. Childs, who was chairman of the session on malapportionment of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 16, comments that the *Magraw* case represents progress in that the court retained jurisdiction in spite of the attorney general's effort to dismiss; that the court agreed with the claim of unfairness of apportionment and invited the legislature to correct the 1913 apportionment at its 1959 session; and that there resulted a redistricting which had the effect of decreasing the disparities between voters of different counties from a maximum of one to 37 to a maximum of one to four. The federal court in Tennessee has likewise accepted jurisdiction in a similar suit, where the plaintiffs now have a greater grievance.

A corresponding case in Florida (*Shiver v. Gray*) was dismissed by the court on the application of the attorney general, and an appeal from that dis-

missal is to be heard in New Orleans some time this winter.

In Oklahoma the League of Women Voters and 30 other state organizations have formed Oklahomans for Constitutional Representation and circulated an initiative petition for reapportionment. This has not been submitted to the voters, pending the outcome of another petition on the same subject, circulated at the instance of Governor J. H. Edmondson. This would relieve the legislature of the duty of reapportionment—never exercised since statehood was granted in 1907—and give it to a special commission. Any citizen could start a court proceeding to correct an erroneous apportionment. The basis would be similar to that in the present constitution; however, the Senate would be increased from 44 members to 48 and the House from 120 to 125.

The New Hampshire Senate, twelve to eleven, defeated a redistricting bill, although none of the present Senate districts meets constitutional requirements, according to the New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation.

In California,⁴ where one-eighth of the population supplies a majority of the State Senate, Frank G. Bonelli, chairman of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, has prepared a form of petition, sponsored by a Committee for Equitable Representation in the State Senate, to provide a population basis for the Senate instead of a county basis as now. This would be an amendment to the constitution and requires 420,462 signatures by June 30, 1960, to get on the November 1960 ballot.

Efforts for apportionment reform in Maryland are set forth in a separate account below, which illustrates types of barriers in many states against the democratic right to equitable representation.

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1958, page 457; NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, September 1959, page 415.

² See the REVIEW, December 1959, page 580.

³ See the REVIEW, September 1959, page 417.

⁴ See also page 49, this issue.

Maryland Apportionment Efforts Rebuffed

Modest proposals to reapportion the House of Delegates in the General Assembly of Maryland were disapproved by a vote of twelve to five in the Legislative Council on November 4. The negative majority came from Baltimore City and from the less populous counties of the state. The council also rejected, ten to seven, a motion calling for a constitutional convention to deal with apportionment.

The proposals had been made by a fifteen-member Commission on More Equitable Representation in the General Assembly of Maryland, appointed by Governor J. Millard Tawes in February 1959 and headed by Judge William C. Walsh of Cumberland, a former attorney general. Recommendations would have increased representation of the four counties having large suburban populations, provided for later increases for medium-sized counties as they grow in population, changed the maximum size of the House from 123 to 141, made no change for Baltimore City, effected no reduction in any county delegation in the House, and left untouched the single-member representation in the Senate of each of the 23 counties and the six legislative districts of Baltimore City.

The governor referred the report to the Legislative Council without approving or disapproving it. After the council vote he was quoted by an interviewer as saying, "To go contrary to any action of the Legislative Council is certainly not my desire." He suggested, however, that he may ask the commission to devise an alternative plan.

Administration floor leaders in the Senate and House, from suburban Montgomery and Baltimore Counties, respectively, declared that they would press in the 1960 session for reapportionment action. The Democratic state platform

of 1958 had pledged the governor to appointment of a study commission on reapportionment "to devise a plan for submission to the General Assembly and to the people through a constitutional amendment." No change in the representation in either House can be attained without amending the state constitution, since apportionment schedules provided by the constitution of 1867 were frozen after the census of 1940 by a 1950 amendment to prevent further disproportionate increase in representation from small counties.

To improve current suburban under-representation in the House, the commission would increase the county maximum from six seats to ten, assigning seven to each county with 200,000 population and one more seat for each additional 100,000. Data from the decennial national census would be controlling but, by 1960 population projections, Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, near Washington, D.C., would each be given a total of eight delegates. Delegations from Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, adjoining Baltimore City, would total nine and seven respectively.

Without disturbing the present distribution of two to four House seats from smaller counties, the commission recommended that future growth permit three seats for counties reaching 50,000, four for 75,000, five for 100,000 and six for 150,000. These increases would not be probable before 1970 or later. All suggested changes would require three-fifths majorities in the two houses of the legislature for a constitutional amendment and voter approval.

In preparing its proposals the commission in effect dealt only with severe under-representation in the House. By State Department of Health population projections for January 1960, Baltimore City representation in the House is only 8.1 per cent below the statewide average and is the most nearly equitable in the

state. (Population disparity exists among the city districts but could be corrected by legislative action.) Underrepresentation of Baltimore County is 67.3 per cent; Prince George's, 58.9; Montgomery, 53.3; and Anne Arundel, 25.9. All other counties are over-represented, by population, from 25 per cent to 276.1 per cent.

Basic change of representation in the House or the Senate is extremely difficult politically because of the composition of the legislature. A constitutional convention, if called, must consist of delegates from each unit equal to its legislative strength and would offer only the advantage of a unicameral body of 152 members in which small-county strength in the Senate is somewhat diluted. Baltimore City and the four large suburban counties, even if they could completely agree, could now muster 70 votes in a convention. The political picture is further complicated by the unit system for statewide primary nomination, each county and Baltimore City district casting unit votes equal to legislative strength. The commission's proposals would add eight unit votes to those of the four large suburban counties for the state elections of 1962.

The state constitution requires a popular vote every twenty years on the question of a constitutional convention, but the legislature did not call such a convention after favorable votes in 1930 and 1950, partly because constitutional language is not absolutely clear as to whether a majority on the question or a majority of voters in the simultaneous general election is required. A convention offers no certainty of reapportionment by population unless suburban growth in additional counties changes their orientation. That development is probable within coming decades. Immediate strategy of reapportionment proponents centers on civic pressure and newspaper support for legislative sub-

mission of a reapportionment amendment and on possible action in the courts. Another possible line of approach, which would have the appeal of inviting voters to decide an issue, is an effort to permit proposal of state constitutional amendments by popular petition.

FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE
University of Maryland

'Little Hoover' Groups Busy in New York State

Two of the three or more so-called "Little Hoover" commissions in New York State¹ have been in the news for recent activities.

The Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities, headed by Senator Austin W. Erwin, submitted recommendations, based on a continuing study by management engineers, for changes calculated to save more than a million dollars out of the next state budget. They include the dropping of two bureaus from the Division of Safety because of duplication of services of other public and private agencies, substitution of annual for semi-annual field audits of commodity tax returns, substitution of data-processing machines for manual operations in clerical and accounting units of the Corporation Tax Bureau, and transfer of responsibility for distribution of surplus foods to the needy from the Division of Standards and Purchases to local welfare agencies.

The inquiry is continuing in the areas of taxation and purchase and is being extended to the Department of Public Works.

The State Commission on Government Operations of the City of New York has reached the stage of public hearings, beginning with one on December 7 at which Mayor Robert F. Wagner proposed changes in the city charter to

¹ See the REVIEW, November 1959, page 529.

transfer detailed administrative duties from the board of estimate to the mayor. He also called for a greater measure of home rule.

Wisconsin Establishes Retirement Research Council

A permanent state retirement research council, provided in a recent act of the Wisconsin legislature, has been created with appointment of seven members by Governor Gaylord Nelson. They comprise representatives of state, county and municipal employees, school teachers and the public.

The council will also include the members of the Joint Survey Committee on Retirement Systems, the director of the Wisconsin Retirement Fund, the executive secretary of the State Teachers' Retirement Board and one state senator and one assemblyman.

Kentucky Merit System May Be Made Statutory

Following a series of executive orders issued during the past six months, the commonwealth of Kentucky has set up a comprehensive merit system for state employees in agencies directly and, to a limited extent, those indirectly under the governor's control.¹ The scope of the program is broad enough to include the bulk of state workers—not excepting custodial and highway hourly employees. Only department heads, their deputies and their personal secretaries, in general, are outside the scope of classified employment.

One novelty in Kentucky procedure has been the retention of the Public Personnel Association to construct and, in the main, to administer the qualifying examination of all present employees. Pending completion of the examination program Governor A. B. Chandler in-

stituted a "freeze" of classifications and of job assignments which terminated December 1. Competitive examinations to fill vacancies are being handled by Public Personnel Association until a staff of examination specialists can be recruited.

There is a strong probability that the General Assembly of 1960 may enact a statutory merit program. Candidates for governor and for lieutenant governor indicated in a campaign discussion that they would support such a program. With the record majorities these candidates received, their leadership positions should be strong. If for no other reason than that such action could unify the state's personnel administration under a single direction, such legislation is highly desirable.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

All-State Legislative Program for 1960

The Council of State Governments has distributed, for consideration by the states in developing legislation for 1960, a suggested program prepared by the Council's Committee of State Officials on Suggested State Legislation.

The committee is composed of legislators, attorneys general or their deputies, members of State Commissions on Interstate Cooperation, uniform law commissioners, legislative service personnel and other state officials.

The program consists of twelve proposals on a wide range of subjects. Included are drafts of legislation on workmen's compensation coverage in light of radiation hazards; regulation of private employment agencies; residence requirements for public assistance and an interstate welfare compact; degree mills; records management; new residents' and nonresidents' motor vehicle registration;

¹ See the REVIEW, October 1959, page 470.

regulation of the height, location and other characteristics of buildings near airports; humane slaughter of animals; municipal police training; regulation of recreational facilities; and suggested amendments to the uniform state food, drug and cosmetic act to reflect recent amendments to the federal food, drug and cosmetic act.

Subjects treated without specific drafts of legislation include litter prevention on public waters, a standard family court and standard juvenile court act, and air pollution control.

Three new uniform acts are presented as promulgated in 1959 by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws: the uniform perpetuation of testimony act, model defender act and the model foreign bank loan act.

President Names Members of Intergovernmental Commission

President Eisenhower's appointments to the new Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations were announced on December 8, as follows:

Private citizens: Frank Bane, former secretary of the Governors' Conference, chairman; James Pollock, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, vice chairman; John Burton, vice president of Cornell University.

The executive branch will be represented by Treasury Secretary Robert B. Anderson, Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell and Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Four governors named are Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina and Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, Democrats, and Robert E. Smylie of Idaho and William G. Stratton of Illinois, Republicans.

Others include: State legislative bodies—Senators John W. Noble of Missouri, Elisha Barrett of New York and Mrs. Leslie Cutler of Massachusetts; mayors—Anthony Celebrezze of Cleveland, Nor-

ris Poulson of Los Angeles, Gordon S. Clinton of Seattle and Don Hummel of Tucson, Arizona; county officers—Edward Connor of Wayne County, Michigan; Clair Donnenwirth of Plumas County, California, and Edwin Michaelian of Westchester County, New York.

Judicial Reform Urged At Nation-wide Conference

The first nation-wide Conference on Judicial Selection and Court Administration, which included both professional and lay participants, met in Chicago, November 22-24, 1959. It was jointly sponsored by the American Judicature Society, the American Bar Association, and Institute of Judicial Administration. These organizations pointed out that "selection of judges is a subject of increasing concern, interest and controversy in this country" and "mounting delays in disposition of cases have pointed up the fact that, in most of the states, court organization and administration have not kept pace with human progress in other fields of endeavor."

Invitations to participate in the conference went to presidents of state and certain metropolitan bar associations, certain legal organizations, certain deans or faculty members of law schools, federal and state judges, federal and court administrators, presidents of national and state organizations known to be interested in judicial reform, including labor unions, representatives of the press, radio and television, political and governmental leaders. Attendance was limited to approximately 160 because of the requirements of the Arden House seminar method, which was so successfully employed by the National Conference on Continuing Legal Education in 1958. Thirty-five states and Canada were represented by one or more participants.

The conference held six general assembly meetings attended by all conferees. There were also seven panel

discussion groups of approximately twenty members each, meeting separately but simultaneously. Each panel discussion group gave one hour to each topic on a rotating basis that permitted each to be directed by the same qualified discussion leaders. The following topics were discussed: How Should Judges be Selected?, Making the Existing State Selection Systems Work, Problems of Federal Judicial Selection, Judicial Tenure and Retirement, Discipline and Removal of Judges, Effective Use of Judicial Manpower, Action Programs to Achieve Reform.

The first general assembly was addressed by Lord Goddard, former chief justice of England, who spoke on Selection of Judges in England.

At the final general assembly on Tuesday morning Lord Goddard addressed the conference for a second time, speaking on court administration in England. Immediately following his address the reports of the seven panels were considered and "agreed upon . . . as the consensus of the conference."

The highlights of each of these reports were as follows:

1. Any method of judicial selection should provide judges free of political bias, selected solely on merit. The partisan elective system is bad and the nonpartisan elective system has major faults. The American Bar Association plan (now used in Missouri, Alaska and for the Supreme Court of Kansas) is a good method of judicial selection, avoiding the weaknesses of other methods and retaining their best features.

2. Whatever the existing system of judicial selection, lawyers and others can do much to bring about the election or appointment of better judges. The informed opinion of members of the bar on the qualifications of judicial candidates should be highly publicized.

3. Bar associations should take the initiative in making their services avail-

able to U. S. senators, the attorney general, or in proper cases the president, by way of submitting names of highly qualified lawyers or judges for their consideration for federal judicial appointments, or in passing upon the qualifications of those already under consideration.

4. Security of tenure should be provided for judges. A system of appointment for a definite term, followed by election for a succeeding term in which the judge runs only on his record and without competing candidates, is much preferred over an elective system in which judges run against opposing candidates.

5. The ultimate responsibility for disciplinary action in removal of judges should be vested in the highest court of the state.

6. Chief justices of state courts should have the power to assign judges from court to court to meet changing needs and help equalize case loads.

7. Successful programs for the achievement of judicial reform will, in most cases, require years of careful planning, substantial sums of money and early enlistment of public participation. Additional national conferences on judicial reform should be held periodically and conferences should also be held in the states to build upon the accomplishments of the national conferences.

CHARLES P. BLACKMORE
Rutgers—The State University
of New Jersey

Kentucky League Favors Broad Home Rule Amendment

The Kentucky Municipal League has urged upon the Advisory Committee on Metropolitan Government that a proposed home rule amendment to the Kentucky constitution be broad enough to include all classes of cities on a permissive basis. The committee, appointed to assist the Kentucky Legislative Re-

search Commission in its study of metropolitan government, has been considering a home rule amendment directed particularly to first-class and second-class cities.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

In ROCKVILLE, CONNECTICUT, the charter and consolidation commission has tentatively approved the town manager plan.

In STRATFORD, CONNECTICUT, as the result of a petition of more than 10 per cent of the voters, the town council has appointed a charter revision commission of fifteen citizens for the purpose of drafting a strong-mayor type of charter as a possible substitute for the present council-manager plan, in effect since 1921. The charter is to be prepared by April 11, 1960, for submission to popular vote, possibly in July 1960.

Consolidation of CAYCE and WEST COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, into one city with council-manager government is proposed in a survey made for the West Columbia-Cayce Chamber of Commerce. Cayce adopted the council-manager plan in 1959.

A local bill to allow TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA, to vote on the question of form of government was passed by the state legislature and signed by the governor in November. Choice is permitted as to council-manager, mayor-council or the existing commission plan.

In ORANGE, TEXAS, petitions to abolish the council-manager plan, in effect since 1954, failed to receive enough valid signatures.

PARKERSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA, voted 3,038 to 839 on November 24 in favor of charter revision. It now has a city commission. The council-manager plan has many advocates.

SHERIDAN, WYOMING, voted December

8 to retain the council-manager plan adopted two years ago. The vote was 1,836 for the manager plan and 1,565 for the commission plan.

ANGLETON, TEXAS, defeated a proposed council-manager charter 390 to 346 in November.

Petitions have been circulated in SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, calling for a referendum, at the March 8 city election, on 22 proposed charter amendments to replace the existing commission form of government with a modified council-manager plan. The new plan would provide a mayor and six councilmen to be elected at large and to appoint a city manager. The mayor would vote with the council, without veto power. He would nominate all members of boards and commissions for council appointment and would name the police judge. In time of emergency he could, upon authorization of the council, command the police and enforce the law. The manager would appoint the city clerk and corporation counsel subject to council confirmation, and would also appoint the administrative heads of each city department, and all other officers and employees, subject to civil service provisions of the charter.

Municipal Charter Reform Aided in Pennsylvania

The third-class cities optional law in Pennsylvania, under which several cities have created charter commissions and abandoned the uniform commission form of government, has been extended in effect by the passage of Act No. 363 of 1959. Until now the larger boroughs, towns and townships which had reached the size of cities could not have third-class city status with the new options of mayor and council plan and council-manager plan. They had to vote themselves into the third-class city status with the commission plan and

(Continued on page 58)

Metropolitan Areas

William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Beginning with this issue, the name of this department has been changed from Metropolitan Government to Metropolitan Areas. More attention will be given to developments in metropolitan areas which are not, strictly speaking, governmental, including the activities of unofficial regional planning agencies and metropolitan research programs. The department will continue to include reports on the activities of official metropolitan agencies and on proposals for adjustments in governmental organization to meet metropolitan needs.

Salem Citizens' Conference Reports

Recommends Continued 'Massive Cooperation'

THE Citizens' Conference for Governmental Cooperation has completed the first phase of the program "preparing Oregon's Mid-Willamette Valley for the next 100 years through massive cooperation."¹ Just a year after its formal organization in November 1958, the conference presented its final report² to the Intergovernmental Cooperation Committee composed of the governor of Oregon, the mayor of Salem, county judges of Marion and Polk Counties and chairman of the Salem area's school board.

The final conference report, prepared by the conference's General Chairman Gerald W. Frank and the chairmen of the seventeen study committees, made five over-all recommendations designed to assist in the implementation of the

specific recommendations developed by individual study committees.

The first proposal was that the Intergovernmental Cooperation Committee be continued. It was suggested that the membership of the committee might be broadened to include representatives of other cities and school districts in the area and representation from special districts. It was felt that this type of informal regional council should "discuss, study and act upon recommendations or suggestions for intergovernmental cooperation or any other regional matter deemed appropriate by the committee."

The purposes of the committee were enumerated as follows: "To attain intergovernmental cooperation in the Mid-Willamette Valley; to develop communications and understanding among local governments; to assure cooperation which will mean efficiency and economy; to utilize cooperative devices but on a voluntary basis; . . . [and] to arouse citizen interest and participation in local government."

Second, "A citizens advisory group should be established . . . to encourage a continuous public interest in intergovernmental cooperation among the citizens of the Mid-Willamette Valley and the Intergovernmental Cooperation Committee." The Salem Area Chamber of Commerce, which took the initiative in setting up the citizens' conference to make the study was asked to assume responsibility for continuing the citizen side of the "massive cooperation" program and for calling together the new citizen group. The leaders in the citizens' conference, which was terminated with the filing of its report, could form the nucleus for the new group. Its purposes would be "to keep citizens informed of the progress of citizens' conference recommendations; to encourage

¹ See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1958, page 574.

² *Mid-Willamette Valley of Oregon—Final Report 1958-1959 of Citizens' Conference for Governmental Cooperation.* Salem, Oregon, Salem Area Chamber of Commerce, 1959. \$2.00.

local governments to take joint action on conference reports; . . . [and] to make future studies."

Third, a state urban affairs advisor should be set up in the office of the governor who would endeavor to improve relations among state and local governments. "There is little doubt that the state has a stake in the development of local governments and their capability to handle complex local problems such as found in urban regions." It was suggested that this office "could also provide an important channel of communication between state and local agencies."

Fourth, Marion County should consider seriously the immediate formation of a charter committee to begin drafting a home rule charter, now that Oregon counties have received authority to do so. It was pointed out that "the charter committee should give special attention to the handling of diverse problems of the future. County government if wisely reorganized can provide the coordination and geographic scope so sorely needed by local government. Counties can become the key units in highly urbanized regions. The development of county government so that it is responsive to urban needs is essential in Oregon." Polk County may be interested in a home rule charter in the future.

Fifth, "Another study group similar to the citizens' conference could be convened in four to five years to reassess the local situation and evaluate what, if any, new actions are necessary." "If massive cooperation should fail in its purpose, it may be necessary to turn to another solution to the governmental problem at the local level."

After noting that coordination of the programs of the numerous governmental units in a metropolitan area is essential to effective functioning of modern urban government, the conference report notes that five basic solutions to the problem have been advocated: annexation, city-

county consolidation or separation, special districts, metropolitan federation or metropolitan counties, and intergovernmental cooperation. The conference concluded that voluntary intergovernmental cooperation is the solution most appropriate for the Salem area and notes the use of several devices: joint enterprises (e.g., city-county health department, city-school district recreation); transfer or furnishing of a service by one government to another (e.g., tax collection and assessment, welfare services); mutual aid (e.g., fire protection and police services); and parallel action (e.g., adoption of like zoning and subdivision codes, use of same specifications for equipment and highways).

* * *

It should be pointed out that the Citizens' Conference on Intergovernmental Cooperation, when it transmitted its final report to the Intergovernmental Cooperation Committee, made two kinds of recommendations—the general recommendations noted above and a host of specific recommendations developed by the seventeen subcommittees. It is evident that the Intergovernmental Cooperation Committee is conceived as a device for meeting a variety of regional problems. It will need to appraise the detailed recommendations. These specific recommendations call for a regional air pollution agency, airport and port development agency, a regional library system, a metropolitan fire district, a regional advisory board for dog control, regional master plans for transportation, water sewerage and draining, a unit for coordinating and reviewing local government finances, regional park and recreation system, consolidation of Polk and Marion County health departments, and possible future consolidation of their welfare departments.

This function by function approach to the problems of the area focused upon

the importance of regional solutions to problems as well as contractual and pooling agreements. Again and again the Mid-Willamette Valley Planning Council and its importance in developing plans for the area were noted.

"The most notable cooperative endeavor has been the creation of a Mid-Willamette Valley Planning Council. This council acts as a central technical staff, coordinating and directing the physical planning of the region. The governing body of the Council and financial support are furnished by four units of government—Marion and Polk Counties, School District 24-CJ and the city of Salem.

"The importance of the Mid-Willamette Valley Planning Council cannot be over-emphasized as a coordinating unit in the physical development of this region. The success of this cooperative planning unit has no doubt been the major reason for the early initiation of the massive cooperation study."

Another aspect of the recommendations which should not escape notice is the crucial role of state government both as the means for authorizing action by local units and as a direct participant in solutions. Although the fact that Salem is the state capital makes state participation somewhat more direct than otherwise might be the case, state responsibility is emphasized in such fields as pollution control, health, welfare, parks, purchasing and finance.

The final report of the Citizens' Conference for Governmental Cooperation was presented at a mass meeting on November 11, 1959, in the State Hall of Representatives in the Oregon Capitol. Charles P. Taft, former mayor of Cincinnati, the principal speaker, praised the project for getting the participation of the large number of citizens "in politics" and indicated the necessity for a continuation of the effort to meet the problems which lie ahead as the Salem area grows in size and complexity. He

doubted that the "massive cooperation" movement would save much money because more and more services will be demanded from local governments.

A significant element in this whole program is the emphasis placed upon preventive action now to meet the challenge of future urban growth. In presenting the final report Conference General Chairman Gerald Frank stressed this fact as he spoke with pride about the development of the Salem area: "We cannot and we must not—and I feel that we will not—allow the healthy growth of the past and the happy situation of the present to keep us from building on this sound foundation . . . one of America's truly great communities."

The report said: "The beauty of this region's early interest in future growth and preparation to meet it is the development of an apparatus which may prevent trying situations and problems. There is no substitute for preventive action. This type of action comes with planning and a realization of what can happen. Preventive action has inherent economy and efficiency which should be a boon to local taxpayers."

RPA Reviews Impact Of 1929 Regional Plan

At its 30th annual meeting the New York Regional Plan Association, Inc., reported on the impact of the 1929 "Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs" upon the development of the region.¹ Among the major elements of today's regional framework, first mapped as a coordinated system of facilities in the 1929 plan, are: George Washington, Triboro and Whitestone bridges; Brooklyn-Battery and Queens-Midtown tunnels; Cheesquake, Corlears Hook, Flushing Meadows, Garret Mountain,

¹ *Year of 1959 in Review*. Regional Plan Association, New York 36, 1959, 20 pages.

Great Kills and Palisades parks; the Belt, Garden State, Henry Hudson, Merritt, Northern and Southern State parkways; Manhattan's circumferential expressway and the New Jersey Turnpike; and the Idlewild, La Guardia, Teterboro and Westchester airports. Facilities also called for by the Regional Plan which are soon to be added are the Narrows bridge between Staten Island and Brooklyn and the Manhattan, Bronx and Westchester cross-expressways.

The acceptance of principles and standards proposed by the plan are more difficult to summarize. "One index is the growth of the recommended planning machinery. Since 1929 official planning boards in the region have increased from 62 to 448. Municipalities zoned have increased from 141 to 465. Subdivision control is exercised in a majority of the region's communities. . . .

"Large scale private and public housing, commercial and industrial development have brought to reality concepts set forth in the Regional Plan. . . . These include . . . Rockefeller Center, Parkchester, Fresh Meadows, suburban shopping centers, industrial parks and the development of Port Newark.

"Thirty years ago the concept that the 550 municipalities surrounding the Port of New York in 22 counties and parts of three states comprised a 'metropolitan city of counties, cities, towns and villages' was regarded as visionary. Today it is an established fact. As the result, the Regional Plan Association's work is now buttressed by official agencies, many of which it has helped to create. These include both municipal and county planning boards, state planning agencies and, most recently, the Metropolitan Regional Council."

R.P.A.'s 30th annual report noted that great changes have taken place in the region since 1929. Some five million people have been added to the region with three-quarters of this growth taking

place outside the urban core. "What had been a gradual trend away from the high point of congested living conditions" after 1900 "became a metropolitan explosion between 1929 and 1959."

"Many factors made for this great change in the location of new regional settlement. The prime factor was the automobile. In a generation it broke the natural monopoly of the region's mass transportation system. . . . As a result of the unleashing from rail lines, the region's present sixteen million population occupy a land area which the planners of the 1920s estimated would not be urbanized until our population reached 22 million."

* * *

Recognizing that "the region has benefited greatly from the Regional Plan . . . the region's current problems posed by violent growth in some areas and disconcerting decay in others are running ahead of present efforts to solve them. The region's transportation facilities by road and rail need to be better geared to serve its present and future development. Renewed efforts to reserve open space for recreation and conservation comparable to the 'park movement' of two generations ago are essential. Stepped up and better planned urban renewal and better coordinated planning of expanding suburban areas are needed.

"In short, new regional development policies and programs must be formulated and acted upon if the region is to maintain its position as the greatest and most attractive urban center of the United States."

The Regional Plan Association has taken several large steps toward its over-all objective of promoting coordinated development of the New York Metropolitan Region, taking into account the new forces which are shaping the region. The three-year \$600,000 New York Metropolitan Region Study conducted for R.P.A. by Harvard University's Graduate School of Public

Administration has given massive consideration to the forces in the region affecting "people, land and jobs." Three of the nine volumes in the study have been published. The remaining six will appear in 1960.

The findings of the Metropolitan Region Study indicate the need for immediate corrective action and the R.P.A. has initiated a follow-up program. Its staff is now developing details of the program and tailoring it to the long-range objectives of the association. Already well under way is a study of the problem of reserving sufficient open space within the region to meet the requirements of the present and projected population. Alerting citizens to the need for regional planning and its role in meeting the problems of future development will continue to be an essential part of the R.P.A. program.

Metropolitan Atlanta Reaches Million

Late last year the Atlanta metropolitan area reached the million population mark. Some years ago Philip Hammer, former director of the Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Board, predicted that the area would reach a million by 1970, but the rapidity of growth later made him revise his prediction and forecast a million population by 1960.

The Atlanta press gives much credit for this rapid growth to sound planning. A recent editorial in the Sunday *Atlanta Constitution-Journal* said:

"The first million is the hardest. The Atlanta metropolitan area came by it as a result of a lot of work, planning, promotion and a remarkable civic spirit that did not recognize obstacles where the welfare and well-being of the section are involved. . . . Planning helped this area to its present position of eminence and planning is even more necessary for the future. Growth must be controlled much more than in the past.

It no longer can be haphazard, for now there is grave danger of the metropolitan area becoming a vast, hideous amoeba, inefficient and characterless. . . . Fine leadership brought us our first million."

The Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Board was created by an act of the Georgia legislature in 1947. Such a regional agency had been recommended in 1938 by the survey made by the National Municipal League's Consultant Service directed by Thomas H. Reed. Planning was strengthened when the much publicized Atlanta Plan of Improvement became effective in 1952. Many groups have been aggressively interested in the growth of the area with particular leadership being provided by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. However, the long and imaginative service of Mayor William B. Hartsfield for over twenty years has been particularly praiseworthy and contributed greatly to the progress of the area.

CULLEN B. GOSNELL

Institute of Citizenship
Emory University

Richmond Group Rejects Merger

The Richmond Regional Planning and Development Commission has decided to explore the possibilities of consolidating various functions of the governments of Richmond and Henrico County, Virginia. In making this decision the commission voted five to four against the merger of the city and county governments. The proposed merger was advanced by Public Administration Service in a report prepared for the commission.¹ Prior to making its decision, the commission set up study committees of officials of the city of Richmond and Henrico and Chesterfield Counties to analyze the effects of P.A.S. proposals.

¹ See the REVIEW, March 1959, page 139.

County Government

Clyde F. Snider, Editor

Illinois Township Commission Reports

Legislature Makes Few Changes in Town Setup

THE Illinois Township Commission, after holding public hearings throughout the state, reported its recommendations to the 1959 General Assembly for legislative action.¹ The commission was created by the 1957 General Assembly² to "study the organization of townships, the duties, powers, functions, compensation and fees of township officers, the tax rate and revenues of townships, the possibility of combining townships for the purpose of improving local government" and any other pertinent matters in regard to the township.

In carrying out its mandate the commission held eight public hearings during the period from January to October 1958 in order to learn about township problems first hand. Commission members then gathered in private session to determine which problems might sensibly be included in a report to the 1959 General Assembly. This private meeting was also the occasion for the suggestion of additional recommendations by commission members.

The commission recommended among other things that justices of the peace be removed from membership on the town (township) board and be replaced by three citizens elected at large from

within the township; that the town board assume some of the responsibilities of township boards operating independently of the town board; that the town board, after it is newly constituted, appoint the township assessor (he is now elected in each governmental township in Illinois); that the town board be given additional authority in preparation of the township budget; that assessment dates for real and personal property be changed from the present April 1 to March 10 in order to allow more time for proper assessment; that the township highway commissioner be given more freedom in allocating contracts for farm-to-market roads (he submits all contracts above a specified amount to the county superintendent of highways for approval); and that another township commission be established whose explicit purpose would be to codify and revise the statutes dealing with the township. The last recommendation was made in the hope that such a commission, by its nature not obligated to travel throughout the state and hold public hearings, could quietly make some contribution to a solution of the problems associated with the existence of 1,433 governmental townships.

The General Assembly, when faced with the commission's report, approved the recommendation removing the justice of the peace from the town board and replacing him with three citizens elected at large from the township—this change will take effect in 1961 to coincide with changes in regard to judicial responsibilities, election and compensation of the justice of the peace;³ did not act on the proposition attempting to give more budget authority to the town board;

¹ *Township Government Problems Commission Report*. 1959, 14 pages. Copies may be obtained from Irving Howards, executive secretary of the commission, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

² See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1958, page 184.

³ See the REVIEW, October 1959, page 484.

made only a minor concession in eliminating some of the township boards independent of the town board; increased the financial limit within which the township highway commissioner may award contracts without approval from the county superintendent of highways; agreed to change the assessment date for real property from the present April 1 to January 1; and established another township commission with the powers already indicated.

It can hardly be said that the Township Commission made startling recommendations to the General Assembly. Certainly the original hope by some that proposals advocating township consolidation would be made did not materialize. Rather the recommendations made and the action taken by the General Assembly were directed toward strengthening the township by attempting to increase its operating efficiency. Those who hope for more drastic legislation must look to action from the newly established Commission on Township Government and more energetic support for such legislation from significant organizations in the state.

IRVING HOWARDS

Southern Illinois University

Charter Study Commissions Report

After two years of work, charter study commissions in San Mateo County, California, and Westchester County, New York, have reported revision recommendations for charters which have been in effect since the 1930s.

The San Mateo commission, consisting of twenty citizen members drawn from a wide variety of occupations, held 32 formal meetings and hearings from October 10, 1957, to June 1, 1959. Subcommittees held 102 meetings and interviews and in addition there were many personal contacts by individual members

for the purpose of obtaining information, background and advice.

The commission's report¹ proposes a relatively comprehensive revision of the 1933 home rule charter in the form of a long series of amendments of varying degrees of importance. It is suggested by the commission that the charter would be substantially improved in form if its contents were completely rearranged and rewritten along the pattern of the *Model County Charter* of the National Municipal League.

Westchester's Charter and Administrative Code Revision Committee is charged with recommending changes in both the special legislative charter of 1937 and the administrative code (also a special state legislative enactment) which was adopted in 1948. The committee consists of 25 members: the county attorney and county budget director *ex officio*, together with eight members of the board of supervisors and fifteen citizens, all appointed by the county executive subject to confirmation by the board. This first report of the committee² presents recommendations concerning those portions of the charter and code on which committee work had been completed. A second report is to be made at a later date when all assignments have been covered.

The committee declares that, "in its opinion, the Westchester County charter was, and still remains, a memorable achievement in the field of modern county government." Yet with the passing of time various changes in its provisions and the administrative code have become desirable, and the report recommends numerous amendments to each document.

¹ *Report of Charter Study Commission of San Mateo County, 1957-1959*. Redwood City, California, 1959. 98 pages.

² *First Report of the Westchester County Charter and Administrative Code Revision Committee*. White Plains, New York, 1959. 79 pages.

One suggested charter amendment would make it mandatory upon the county executive to "designate in writing, with the approval of the county board, the head of one of the county departments as an acting county executive to perform the administrative duties of the county executive during his absence or disability." The acting county executive would possess all the powers of the county executive except the power of removal.

Another proposed charter change would require the commissioner of public works to be a licensed engineer. A proposed amendment to the administrative code would empower the county executive to call special meetings of the board of supervisors. At present such meetings may be called only by the clerk of the board on written request by a majority of the board members.

The committee sees good reason to recommend that basic county law be reviewed from time to time and advises that in the future this be done at shorter intervals than twenty years.

J. P.s Investigated In New Mexico

Justices of the peace are under investigation in New Mexico. A joint legislative committee has found that some justices make as much as \$1,000 a month while others make as little as \$20 a month, reports the October number of the *Journal of the American Judicature Society*.

The investigation began because of complaints from tourists that they were being railroaded through the courts. In practically all cases reported, defendants were found guilty and fined.

It was brought out at the hearings that some justices of the peace display neither the fee schedule nor the list of rights of defendants as required by law, while others fail to file the required

monthly reports on the cases handled and fees and costs collected.

Several suggestions were made at the hearings to improve the situation, such as electing full-time salaried police magistrates and increasing the jurisdiction of the small claims courts to include minor criminal matters. Because two days of hearings were not sufficient to study fully a minor court system involving over nine hundred justices of the peace, the committee will continue the investigation in all parts of the state right up to the start of the next legislature.

NACO Holds Annual Conference

The 23rd annual conference of the National Association of County Officials was held in Detroit in late summer 1959. Including pre-conference meetings of state association executives and of the officers and directors of the national organization, sessions extended over a five-day period, July 25-29. The conference was the largest in the association's history, more than 1,700 delegates and guests being in attendance. More than a hundred persons took part in the program, which included seven panels on current governmental problems.

The conference program was organized around the general theme "The Rebirth of the American County." In his keynote address before the opening general session, Commissioner Wally Dunham of Forsyth County, North Carolina, declared: "County government has refused to die. Instead, it has experienced a rejuvenation which makes it more like a youth than like an adult with 1,000 years of history."

Other speakers at the first general session included Governor Williams of Michigan, Senator Gore of Tennessee and Mayors Miriani of Detroit and Patrick of Windsor, Ontario. There was also a greeting from President Eisenhower by recorded message. Speakers

at subsequent general sessions included Governor Stratton of Illinois, President Reuther of the United Automobile Workers and President Eppert of the Burroughs Company.

At a second annual Federal Relations Workshop, held as a part of the conference, county officials were afforded an opportunity to obtain from officers of the federal government first-hand information concerning federal grant-in-aid and technical programs of interest to counties.

In connection with the conference a new National Association of County Administrators was formed and affiliated with NACO.¹ In addition to this new organization, NACO affiliates now include the National Association of County Engineers, National Association of County Records and Clerks, National Association of County Treasurers and Finance Officers, Conference of State Association Executives and State Associations of County Officials in 43 states.

The 1960 annual conference, to be held in Miami, was designated as NACO's "Silver Anniversary Conference." William E. Dennison, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan State Association of Supervisors, was elected president of the national organization.

County Administrators Organize

At a meeting in Detroit preceding the 1959 conference of the National Association of County Officials, a group of county administrators organized the National Association of County Administrators, to function as an affiliate of NACO. As reported in *The County Officer*, the objectives of the new association are set forth in its constitution as follows:

"(a) To support and advance to the

fullest extent possible the policies of the National Association of County Officials with particular emphasis on the general improvement of county government administration in the United States. (b) To accomplish this general objective by: (1) encouraging and providing for the exchange and dissemination of knowledge and information regarding possible solutions to common administrative problems; (2) using all available resources for the advancement of modern public management methods to enable counties more effectively to perform their important functions; (3) encouraging the continued development of high ethical standards in the administration of county government."

Both appointive and elective administrators are eligible to membership in the association, the constitution providing that any "county administrator who is a member of NACO in good standing may become an active member of the association" and that "for purposes of membership, a county administrator, regardless of official title in each county, is defined as that person directly responsible to the governing body or electorate of a county for the centralized management or administration of county activities." Assistant administrators and other persons interested in the objectives and program of the association may become associate members.

Those responsible for launching the new organization emphasized that the association will be primarily concerned with contributing, through NACO, to the continued improvement of county administration generally; and that it will not seek to promote the establishment of county administrator positions or the improvement of county administrators.

The constitution of the new association provides for the election of a president, a vice president and eight directors. M. D. Tarshes, county executive of Sacramento County, California, was chosen

¹ See below.

as first president, and J. H. Weatherly, county manager of Guilford County, North Carolina, as vice president. The board of directors at its first meeting decided that its principal objectives for the first year should be the promotion of membership and the preparation of a program consistent with the association's purposes.

Suffolk County Gets Medical Examiner

The adoption of the new Suffolk County charter in 1958¹ substituted as of January 1, 1960, an appointive qualified medical examiner in place of the elected county coroner. The selection of a former assistant medical examiner of New York City has been made by competitive examination. The new appointee supplants ten coroners—one for each town in the county.

R.S.C.

Medical Examiner Movie Made Available

A 30-minute movie entitled "A Matter of Fact" has been contributed to the literature of the medical examiner movement by a leading pharmaceutical company, the William S. Merrell Company of Cincinnati. It was prepared with the

cooperation of the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association, both of which distribute it on loan for a small fee, along with the Merrell Company itself.

It describes dramatically a case similar to a real one in Maryland where circumstantial evidence and ordinary non-medical coroner procedure indicted the wrong man for murder. Recourse to a post-mortem and modern forensic pathology by the defense saves him at the trial. One of the hazards of depending upon lay coroners for the decision as to whether autopsy is necessary is thus usefully demonstrated.

R.S.C.

Charter Election Results Vary

Of the three county home rule charters submitted to referendum vote last November,¹ those of Cuyahoga and Lucas Counties in Ohio were defeated. The charter for Erie County, New York, on the other hand, was approved by a substantial majority.² Erie thus becomes the first New York county to adopt a charter under the terms of the constitutional home rule amendment approved by the state's voters in 1958.

¹ See the REVIEW, October 1959, pages 475 and 480.

² See the REVIEW, December 1959, page 590.

¹ See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1958, page 286; December 1958, page 575.

Proportional Representation

George H. Hallett, Jr.,
and Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors

Minority Wins In Cincinnati

9X System Results in Unbalanced Council

CINCINNATI'S municipal election November 3 revealed some of the effects typical of the 9X-plurality voting system¹ imposed by the 1957 repealer which ended the Queen City's 32-year use of the Hare system of proportional representation.

In Cincinnati's last eight elections under P.R. the average number of candidates was twenty. This year the number was 29—and predictions are freely offered that, unless the new system is amended or abandoned, the field will become steadily larger in years to come.

As a result of the wider diffusion of voting strength, a large majority of the voters—60 per cent—have either no representation at all or only minority representation in the new council, majority control having been won by the local Republican organization with barely 40 per cent of the vote. The actual percentage of the vote polled by the five Republican winners was even smaller—27 per cent.

The four members of the 1958-59 City Charter Committee minority in council again constitute the minority of the new council; though two of these ran in 1959 on a Democratic slate.

Although 9X-plurality voting was used in the 1957 council election following the repeal of P.R. at a special election five weeks earlier, nominations for the 1957 race had closed nearly a month

before repeal was voted. The race itself, as a result, both in number of candidates and in distribution of voting strength, though not, of course, in method of counting and results, eventuated much more as a P.R. contest than as 9X-plurality voting.

The following table gives results for ten candidates who ran both in 1957 and 1959. It shows graphically the dilution of vote occurring even though the total number of voters rose slightly, from 140,825 in 1957 to 142,867 this year. (Both totals, it should be noted, are significantly under the 158,000-average of the five P.R. elections from 1947 through 1955—a drop in interest which also is typical of the 9X-plurality vote system.) These candidates were not the first ten in the size of their votes.

| | 1957 | 1959 |
|--|--------|--------|
| Donald D. Clancy, Republican (Mayor '58-9) | 79,607 | 76,701 |
| Charles P. Taft, (Charter Mayor, '57-8) | 89,878 | 70,043 |
| Gordon Rich, Republican | 71,436 | 63,640 |
| Walton Bachrach, Republican | 77,689 | 63,149 |
| John J. Gilligan Democrat | 80,430 | 62,753 |
| Vincent H. Beckman, Democrat | 82,017 | 58,054 |
| Joseph DeCourcy, Republican | 68,134 | 55,105 |
| Dorothy N. Dolbey, Charter | 65,899 | 51,081 |
| Theodore M. Berry, Charter | 50,222 | 44,085 |
| Peter Garvin, Republican | 51,034 | 42,198 |

One of the complicating factors in the campaign was the entry of an official Democratic slate of candidates for the first time since the formation of the Charter Committee in 1924.

The complication began with an announcement early in the year from Dem-

¹ Under this plan each voter may mark an X for each of nine candidates for the nine-member council.

ocratic headquarters. Waxing strong on State House favors and State House patronage stemming from the election in 1958 of Michael DiSalle, the first organization-minded Democrat to sit in the governor's chair in more than twenty years, John Wiethe, chairman of the local Democratic group since 1955, ended the party's long abstention from municipal affairs by announcing there would be a full Democratic slate in the council race. Shortly thereafter, two of the incumbent City Charter Committee councilmen, Messrs. Beckman and Gilligan, declared (in statements released by Wiethe) that they would support the Democratic ticket rather than the ticket of the Charter Committee which had originally sponsored them.

The cleavage with the past was emphasized as the campaign developed. Organization Republicans, as an example, in former years were accustomed to wage campaigns marked by bitter exchanges of personalities and political billingsgate. This year the Republicans "played it in low key," reserving their few sallies to reply to Democratic attacks on their record as a majority since December 1957.

The Democrats, on the other hand, based their campaign largely on the lure of the Democratic label, merely justifying their break with the City Charter Committee on the need for monolithic organization—that is, from city hall to county courthouse to state capitol to Washington.

Charter leaders soon realized the tactics of the two parties constituted a grim challenge to bury Charter by reliance on habit-voting among Democrats and Republicans alike. To meet the challenge they set out to define clearly the Charter philosophy of separation of local affairs from state and national politics.

Ironically, the City Charter Committee campaign drew a large handicap in the very excellence of Cincinnati's govern-

ment in recent years. Reduced to its essentials, the Charter appeal consisted of a warning that, if the voters didn't watch out, the goblins of political spoils, patronage and ineptitude would get them. But this was what Charter spokesmen had been saying, in effect, for a long time past and with evidences of continuing good government on every side, the voters just couldn't get too excited.

So the election ended with the make-up of Council unchanged except for the replacement of the retiring vice mayor, W. C. Kelly, by a fellow Republican, E. P. Ruehlmann. It was the latter's vigorous, spare-no-expense activity in the western wards of the city where his family had long been prominently identified that edged out a hard-fought bid for return to council by the Charter veteran, Theodore M. Berry, former vice mayor and finance committee chairman, whose astute and tireless crusade for civil rights has made him an acknowledged leader among the nation's Negroes for more than a decade.²

Group totals clearly portray the disastrous effect of the Democratic action in splitting support away from the Charter Committee: total Republican vote, 458,887; Charter, 327,222; Democratic, 294,075; independent, 44,486.

The official count was not completed until Friday, November 13, some 96 hours after the customary completion of the P.R. counts of former years.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Council Ballots Recounted in Hamilton

For the first time in Hamilton's (Ohio) seventeen P.R. elections, a re-

² Mr. Berry's defeat two years ago, leaving the large Negro community without one of its own leaders in the council, was the most noticeable immediate effect of the abolition of P.R.—*Editor.*

count of the city council ballots was held this November. It was requested by the last candidate defeated, who posted the required deposit of \$10 per precinct, totalling \$860, which proved to be slightly more than the recount cost.

The recount did not change the outcome and made only minor variations in the original totals. It was conducted expeditiously in the board of elections offices by a crew of twenty clerks and two accountants between 8 A.M. and 9.45 P.M. of the same day. As in other P.R. recounts, the work required was less than in an original count because many of the ballots could be returned to their original first-choice positions in batches instead of being sorted singly.

P. R. League Holds Annual Meeting

The annual business meeting of the Proportional Representation League was held on Tuesday morning, November 17, at the Sheraton-Kimball Hotel, Springfield, Massachusetts. The meeting was a breakfast session of the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, with whose work that of the P.R. League has been merged since 1932.

Residents of ten communities, from as far west as Chicago, attended. In the absence of the president and vice president, Richard S. Childs, a member of the P.R. League's board of trustees, presided.

The following trustees were re-elected: Richard S. Childs, New York City; Robert P. Goldman, Cincinnati; C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pennsylvania; Andrew B. Holmstrom, Worcester, Massachusetts; Oxie Reichler, Yonkers, New York; Thomas H. Reed, Wethersfield, Connecticut; and Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia.

The meeting recommended to the trustees that the president and other officers be reappointed. They are: Mr.

Goldman, president; Mr. White, vice president; Mr. Hoag, honorary secretary; George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary; and Elsie S. Parker, assistant secretary and treasurer.

Since some of those present were not familiar with the mechanics of P.R., Mr. Hallett gave a short explanation. Mr. Childs reported where P.R. has been and is operating and outlined some of the reasons for its importance. Mr. Hallett gave a short report on P.R. developments during the year 1959, with emphasis on the vote in Ireland sustaining it as the method of election of the Dail Eireann (national parliament), the vote to keep it in Worcester, Massachusetts, and its use in Worcester, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and Hamilton (Ohio) this fall. P.R. was abandoned in Hopkins, Minnesota, and discontinued in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, as an incident to that community's incorporation under Tennessee law.

James H. Finnerman, executive secretary of the Worcester Citizens' Plan "E" Association, reported in more detail on the Worcester vote to retain the city's council-manager-proportional representation charter and predicted that it might be necessary to wage another defense campaign next year. He also told of the sixth P.R. election of the city's council and school committee, in which the Plan "E" Association elected five out of nine on the council and four out of six on the school committee.

Eric Hanson, executive director of the Cambridge Civic Association, reported that four of its candidates were elected to the city council of nine and three to the school committee of six; but that recounts (easy under Massachusetts law) had been requested for both elections.

Mr. Hallett reported on plans to reintroduce P.R. for New York City elections. Mr. Childs expressed the opinion that P.R. is especially needed in large cities and in metropolitan governments.

E.S.P.

State, Local Debt Continues Increase

But Greater Interest Rate Slows Down Pace

STATE and local government borrowing has continued to increase despite the obstacle of higher interest costs. Indications at this time, however, are that increased interest rates are slowing down the pace of new financing. As state and municipal officials feel the pressure of capital expansion because of population increases, they are simultaneously feeling the pressure of higher costs of new money. The result appears to be that a few necessary projects are delayed temporarily, that marginal projects are eliminated or delayed for longer periods of time.

From 1946, when state and municipal borrowing again approached pre-war volume, to 1958, the dollar volume of state and municipal bond issues increased from \$1.20 billion to \$7.45 billion. *The Daily Bond Buyer's* twenty-bond index of yield on municipals rose from 1.42 per cent to 2.97 per cent over the same period, in each case as measured at the beginning of the year. Thus over time, the need for new capital financing made itself felt despite the rising cost of money. Another trend over this period was the increasing importance of revenue bonds, the total rising from \$206 million in 1946 to \$1.72 billion in 1958, a high of \$3.21 billion having been reached in 1954 during the flurry of toll road financing.

The recent upward trend of state and local bond sales is evidenced by *The Daily Bond Buyer's* listings. In 1956 total volume was \$5.45 billion, rising to \$6.96 billion in 1957 and to \$7.45 billion in 1958. For ten months in 1959, accord-

ing to reports of the Investment Bankers Association's research department, total sales were \$6.59 billion, up slightly from \$6.52 billion for the same period last year. The IBA concludes, however, that "if a new sales record is established in 1959, the upsurge in revenue bond sales will be responsible." General obligation bond sales in 1959 have been off 12 per cent in dollar volume in the first ten months of the year, while revenue bond sales have been up 41 per cent.

* * *

It seems obvious that higher interest rates discourage borrowing but the exact effect and extent is difficult to measure. There are many factors at work to determine when a bond issuer comes into the market, but there is some evidence to indicate that interest rates have some effect. For example, a low interest rate period may be compared with a higher rate period.

From December 1957 through July 1958 may be taken as a low period. Over that time *The Daily Bond Buyer's* twenty-bond index ranged from 3.16 per cent to 3.10 per cent, with a low of 2.85 per cent registered in January 1958. A year later may be taken as a comparatively high interest rate period. From December 1958 through July 1959 the index ranged from 3.38 per cent to 3.59 per cent, with a high of 3.81 per cent in the latter part of June and early July and a low of 3.26 per cent on March 6. As measured by dollar volume, general obligation bonds were down 18.4 per cent in the high period compared with the low, revenue bonds were up 26.4 per cent, and the total of all bonds was down 5.9 per cent. As measured by the number of bond issues, general obligation issues were down 13.1 per cent, revenue bond issues were up 0.9 per cent, and

total bond issues were down 11.4 per cent.

These measures should not be interpreted strictly. What is suggested is that tight money slows down the rate of new financing and contributes to the backlog of future financing. Bond issuers postpone coming into the market when rates are high to the day when they hope rates will be lower. The IBA has concluded that in 1957 "the tight money policy had a much more limited impact on state and local government activities than has sometimes been alleged." They noted that in the case of essential projects, money rates generally are not barriers to ultimate financing but marginal undertakings are curtailed or eliminated.¹

Specific issues point up the postponements due to high interest rates. A recent delay of a \$100 million state of California issue was directly attributed to the prevailing rate of interest. Originally offered December 9, 1959, the issue was rescheduled for January 13, 1960, because State Treasurer Bert A. Betts said he had indications that the interest cost might be as high as 4 per cent. Mr. Betts was quoted as saying the state hoped for a net interest cost of 3.85 per cent and that any price over 3.90 per cent would be unfair and inequitable. When he did not receive assurance that the rate would be within the range he had in mind, he postponed the offering.

Another point in the California case, however, is that the frequency of their bond issues and the growing size of the state's debt combine to make something of a marketing problem for the bonds, despite the general excellence of the state's credit. Thus, the investment bankers contend that to overcome the marketing problem the state must pay a higher rate of interest than would be necessary otherwise. Other temporary

postponements of large issues within the last year have included bonds offered by the New York State Thruway Authority and the Port of New York Authority. Awaiting a better market climate is a \$210 million Chesapeake Bay Bridge and Tunnel District, Virginia, revenue bond issue.

An indication that pressure for increased borrowing will continue is shown by *The Daily Bond Buyer's* inventory of "live" projects for which bonds have been authorized or for which authorization is in process.² At November 13, 1959, the total of all prospective offerings was \$15.9 billion, up 16.6 per cent from the \$13.6 billion at November 14, 1958. By contrast the 1958 total was up 1.2 per cent from 1957, and the 1957 total was up 2.3 per cent from 1956. The rapid increase is attributable to two factors—the buildup in the backlog due to postponements arising out of higher interest costs and the continuing increase in pressure for capital improvements because of population expansion.

It is interesting to note that prospective new borrowing consisted of \$9.6 billion by states and state agencies and \$6.3 billion by local governments. In 1956 total prospective borrowing consisted of \$6.8 billion by states and state agencies and \$6.3 billion by local governments.

Tax Exemption of Municipal Bonds Under Fire

The old question of whether the federal government should continue exemption of state and municipal bond interest from income taxation is up again, this time in a broader examination of the entire federal income tax structure. The

(Continued on page 48)

¹ IBA *Statistical Bulletin*, January 1958, Investment Bankers Association of America, Washington, D. C.

² See *The Daily Bond Buyer*, Special Convention Issue No. 1, 48th Annual Convention of the Investment Bankers Association of America, November 30, 1959.

Dos and Don'ts in Political Campaigns

Civic Groups Discuss the Basic Procedures

SIX representatives of citizen associations tried to pin down the Dos and Don'ts in political campaigns in a three-hour session Monday, November 16, at the 65th National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Differences in organization, power, purpose and local government made their conclusions general, but all the representatives of the private citizen organizations agreed that winning a campaign required as broad a basis of support as possible, starting as early in preparation for the campaign as possible and always maintaining the offensive.

The citizens association panel discussion was one of two workshops on politics. The ideas expressed by the panel on how to conduct a successful campaign, and generally agreed upon from the point of view of citizen groups, were:

1. Have a citizen organization which appeals to as broad a number of voters as possible without losing sight of the stated intentions of the group.
2. Maintain the offensive in the campaign; have ready answers for attacks on any of the organization's stands.
3. Use endorsements by outstanding members of the community.
4. Newspaper coverage and advertisements are an important part of winning a campaign.
5. Gain financial as well as numerical support to cover costs of materials and advertising.
6. Present the cause simply so that

all will understand. Use short, repetitive announcements in mailings to homes, on radio and television and in the newspapers. There was general agreement that many people will not or cannot take the time to look into a complex issue. If long and involved arguments are used, the campaign can be lost in the myriad of detail.

Chairman of the citizen associations panel was Thomas S. Green, Jr., president of the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, which had just completed a successful campaign to maintain council-manager government. Noting that a skillful politician waged a fight to install a weak mayor, ward system of government, Green said his organization won with 53 per cent of the vote because of effective use of city-wide mailings, telephone calls and newspaper ads. He noted that in a forum series set up by the Plan "E" Association, the opposition was "by and large more successful than we." He said that the greatest weakness in his organization was the lack of a ward or district political setup. The city's daily newspapers staunchly supported the council-manager plan.

Others on the panel were:

Robert D. Chase, Jr., vice president of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, suggested the use of short catch phrases rather than a political science thesis;

Edward Jones, executive director of Future Springfield, Inc., pointed out that, in complex issues, people often want help in deciding which way to vote. He noted that the Springfield newspapers were an important factor in the November election. In their editorials they came out for or against various candidates and issues, one of which was adoption of a new charter.

Mrs. Aileen Lotz, executive director of the Miami Beach Taxpayers' Association, pointed out the great power held by the Miami city hall. "What they want, they usually get," she said as a preliminary statement to her pointing out the importance of the Miami association. At the June election the taxpayers' association opposed an amendment proposing elimination of a primary election law only recently passed and disliked by Miami Beach councilmen. Although the taxpayers' association lost its campaign, Mrs. Lotz saw a moral victory since the issue failed by only 56 votes.

Verne C. Johnson, executive director of the Citizens League of Minneapolis, heads the nonpartisan, three thousand member group that recently backed three amendments—affecting home rule, school districting and liquor licenses—passed in recent elections.

Eric H. Hanson, executive director of the Cambridge Civic Association, pointed out how a citizens association can sometimes help a campaign without making a stand on an issue. "Announcing that the Cambridge Civic Association was for fluoridation in water would have been waving a red flag in the face of the opposition." The association, which controls four of the nine council seats, stayed in the background and let a group of interested citizens, coupled with the indorsement of some 80 dentists, wage a successful battle for acceptance of fluoridation.

Sarasota County Group Forms New Civic League

The Sarasota County Civic League, a non-profit, nonpartisan citizens association for good government, has been organized with headquarters in Sarasota, Florida. Its affiliated organization, the Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, is housed in the same office with Paul L. Stannard executive direc-

tor of both organizations, which have interlocking directorates. The bureau will act as the fact-finding agency, the league as the action agency.

Mr. Stannard reports that the Sarasota area has trebled in size since the end of World War II and "is experiencing plenty of growing pains in the fields of long-range planning and local government."

The objectives of the league are set forth in its brochure:

1. Create public interest and participation in city and county planning and support programs for effecting that planning which results in orderly, creative growth.
2. Improve local government through working for elimination of waste, inefficiency and duplication and through maintaining such close and constant contact with city-county government that valid recommendations can be made.
3. Analyze all pending issues and legislation and constructively and vigorously support or oppose such acts in accord with the public interest.

Cambridge Group Cites Recent Accomplishments

In a brochure issued just before the November election, the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civic Association pointed out that it is a "nonpartisan organization of nearly five thousand members who spearhead the action that makes Cambridge a better place in which to live and work. In fourteen years of vigorous existence, CCA has helped to find and elect candidates whose record of achievement is of dramatic importance."

Members of the city council and school committee supported by the association have: "Stopped patronage in the school system; restored a merit examination for teacher selection and promotion; inaugurated a modern language program in the elementary grades;

sponsored an active building program, with two new schools complete, two more in the works . . .; steered our city government towards a pay-as-you-go operation; saved money by slashing public debt and holding the line against sharp tax increases. The tax rates of surrounding cities and towns have risen as much as 135 per cent since 1941. In this era of inflation Cambridge has held its increase to 33 per cent, while keeping city services, facilities and salaries among the best in the state."

La Guardia, Bryant, Heiskell Awards Presented

The La Guardia Memorial Association commemorated the 77th anniversary of the birth of the late Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia at a luncheon on December 12 in New York City. The association presented its ninth annual award for outstanding achievement in municipal affairs to Mayor Richard C. Lee of New Haven, Connecticut. The award was made in recognition of Mayor Lee's achievements in urban redevelopment.

The eleventh Lane Bryant annual awards were presented at a luncheon in New York City on November 19. The \$1,000 individual award went to Mrs. Jessie Hughes, who has been called a "one woman blitz" in behalf of the mentally ill of St. Louis. Mrs. Hughes has organized a volunteer visiting program to the wards of the St. Louis State Hospital.

Individual honorable mention was presented to Mrs. Alice W. Lipscomb of Philadelphia, president of Hawthorne Community Council, who "has done more than any other individual to insure the success of Operation Hawthorne" as a pilot project for mass enforcement of a new housing code.

The \$1,000 group award went to the Chagrin Falls (Ohio) Park Community Center, which is the focal point of a

program for community betterment in a tragically blighted rural slum. "Its establishment is a triumph of inter-racial cooperation." The center furnishes year-round recreation and education programs for all ages.

The group honorable mention went to JACKIE (Joint Agency Committee for Kiddies—Interdenominational Effort) of San Francisco, which provides good foster homes for neglected and dependent children.

The international volunteer award, inaugurated this year, was presented to Oscar J. Arellano of Manila, Philippines, "whose efforts have made Operation Brotherhood a growing force for freedom and democracy in Asia."

An award in the name of Andrew Heiskell, publisher of *Life* Magazine and outgoing chairman of ACTION, has been created by the board of directors of that organization. Announcement of the award was made by Roy W. Johnson, director of the Advanced Research Projects Agency, Washington, D. C., and newly elected chairman of ACTION.

The award, a bronze medallion and certificate, will be for an outstanding contribution to the achievement of good cities and will be made from time to time to leaders in the field of urban renewal.

A copy of the resolution creating the award, together with the first medallion to be cast, will be given Mr. Heiskell "in remembrance of this occasion and of the great esteem in which he is held by his fellow board members."

Discuss Chicago Government

At its annual luncheon on October 28, the Civic Federation of Chicago featured three speakers, one each from three of Chicago's major local governments. Edmund J. Brennan, director of central services of Cook County, spoke on The Basis and Development of Your Tax Bill; William A. Dundas, general

superintendent of the metropolitan sanitary district of Greater Chicago, spoke on Major Sanitation Problems; and John F. Ward, purchasing agent of Chicago, on Governmental Purchasing Is Big Business. The addresses have been published by the federation in its *Bulletin* for November 1959.

Taxes in Illinois

An Introduction to the Study of Taxes in Illinois, Agenda Item I-1959-61 (Chicago 2, 1959, twelve pages) has been published by the League of Women Voters of Illinois as part of its current agenda for the next two years. In broaching the subject, questions are set forth in the preface intended to clarify thinking and study, such as "If you believe the personal property tax should be eliminated, where should local governments get the 20 per cent of their revenue that comes from that source?" The pamphlet presents the philosophy of taxation, the present revenue article and its effect on taxation, trends of revenue bills in the State Assembly, as well as discussion of the Illinois tax structure compared with that of other states to provide material for the solution of such questions.

ANNE K. STICH

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 44)

issue has come up every year since the income tax law was passed.

Interest payments on roundly \$48 billion of state and local government bonds are tax free under rules first laid down by Congress in 1913. This derived from the feeling that a tax on income from bonds issued by state and local governments would be unconstitutional and an encroachment on the power of state and local government to borrow money. Representative Mills of the House Ways

and Means Committee, however, is undertaking an extensive look at the federal income tax as it is now constituted and tax exemption is one of the central questions being raised.

At recent hearings the case for taxing state and local bond interest was put by Vance N. Kirby, Northwestern University law professor and a former Treasury Department official. He estimated that the federal government is losing \$600 million a year through the exemption and that about \$400 million a year is the size of the subsidy to state and local governments which, without the exemption, would have to pay at least one full percentage point more than they now do in interest costs. He stated that this form of subsidy is erratic and others have pointed out that the largest amount of the subsidy goes to large, established creditors, while smaller and less well known governmental units have to pay higher interest costs anyway. Supporting Mr. Kirby were James A. Maxwell, economics professor at Clark University, and Harvey Brazer, economics professor at the University of Michigan. Mr. Brazer urged the committee to consider ending the interest exemption and substituting a system of direct subsidies.

Bond experts and a Washington, D. C., attorney defended the exemption. The attorney, Northcutt Ely, told the committee that he believed the constitutional issue is as important today as ever. Harry L. Severson of New York argued that elimination of exemption would result in financial chaos and that only the strongest governmental units would be able to issue bonds for a time and these at high interest rates. Cushman McGee of New York City contended also that withdrawal of exemption would create a condition in which some municipalities would be unable to sell bonds at all and others at "extraordinarily high interest rates."

Bureau Surveys Reapportionment

California Group Eyes 1960 Census Results

WITH the 1960 census just ahead, a redistribution of congressional seats among the states must follow. The condition of both congressional and legislative districting in many states is so bad that majority government no longer remains. In fact, there is no single house of the legislature in any state in which a majority of the people cannot be overriden by the minority.¹

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California in *Legislative Reapportionment: California in National Perspective*, by Margaret Greenfield, Pamela Ford and Donald R. Fry (Berkeley, 1959, 111 pages, \$2.00), has brought out a comprehensive publication in which the first 36 pages are devoted to a general discussion of existing malapportionment across the country which the new census will in most cases worsen. It is probably only the first of numerous such state studies by similar organizations, but these 36 pages are so well done, so clear and complete, that they could constitute the initial section in all the studies to come.

The pages discuss disparities in state legislatures, the basis of representation, reasons for failure to reapportion or redistrict, and use of the gerrymander. Remedies "prescribed for this political illness"—adoption of initiative, mandatory guides to districting, reapportionment by non-legislative authority, and reserve (constitutional) enforcement provisions—are discussed, as well as the lack of enforcement of constitutional

requirements for periodic or equitable reapportionment or redistricting.

Up until 1958, the courts "steadfastly refused to entertain any such cases arising out of legislative failure to reapportion. Two basic objections against such intervention are: (1) the 'peculiarly political nature' of such cases, and (2) violation of the theory of separation of powers. Federal courts have declined on yet a third ground—that of state sovereignty." In 1958, however, a federal district court in Minnesota entertained an action to compel the Minnesota legislature to enact a reapportionment statute and a federal court in Tennessee has also done so in a similar action.²

The remainder of the study covers the California situation in which almost all the factors that result in inequitable representation are operative. Sectional cleavages have complicated the task of reapportionment and protection of area interests has loomed more important than urban-rural controversy. If, by such means as a constitutional amendment initiated by petition, the northern counties are deprived of their present advantage in favor of the south, it may involve the apparently inevitable struggle of the southern counties to get water from the unpopulated mountains of the north. A further complication is the disposition of some conservative forces in the south to welcome the conservative domination of the legislature by the over-represented rural northerners. However, constitutional provisions and political factors are chiefly accountable for failure to achieve the principle of "one vote, one value."

² For information on these actions see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1958, page 457; the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, September 1959, pages 415 and 417; and page 22, this issue.

¹ See also page 22, this issue.

California's prospective contest may be of small interest to people in other states. But, as evidence comes forth, they will find many similar complexities in their own efforts to restore majorities to their proper place.

R.S.C.

Kansas Study Assesses Metro in Toronto

In *Metropolitan Area Government: The Toronto Experience* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Governmental Research Center, 1959, 44 pages) John G. Grumm reviews the setting, initiation, operation and performance of Toronto's metropolitan government.

In summarizing the operation of Metro, he observes that, "despite some deficiencies, its accomplishments have been impressive. It has provided coordinated and cheaper financing for the whole area; has virtually solved the water and sewage disposal problems; is finally beginning to make some headway in regard to spreading the financial burden of education; has established an efficient, centralized police force; it is making progress in removing the area's deficiencies in parks and recreational centers; is spreading a modern freeway system throughout the area; and is providing better welfare service, particularly for the aged, without causing an undue stress upon the finances of any one sector in the metropolitan region."

Metro's real or potential problems as Grumm sees them are some dissatisfaction with the system on the part of the city of Toronto, the degree of representativeness in the metropolitan council, the mode of selecting the metropolitan chairman and perhaps the lack of flexibility in the plan.

Personal factors, particularly the extraordinary chairman, Frederick G. Gardiner, have played extremely important roles in what success Metro has

achieved. Grumm cautions that this fact should receive utmost consideration in any evaluation of the plan or any assessment of its applicability to cities in the United States.

In further considering the practicality of utilizing the federation plan in this country, Grumm notes that it has the overwhelming advantage of being more politically feasible than consolidation, as it embodies the sort of compromise not alien to our traditions. He concludes, "Since, with very few exceptions, the metropolitan regions of the United States have not even begun to find a way out of their maze of metropolitan problems, the federation plan certainly should be considered most seriously by them. It may be the only practical hope they have."

Vermont Government Discussed

The background papers, final report and recommendations of the Vermont Assembly of 1958 are incorporated in *Vermont—The 14th Original State*, edited by Rolf N. B. Haugen and E. William Steele (Government Clearing House, University of Vermont, and State Agricultural College, Burlington, 1959, 140 pages). The Vermont Assembly, like those held in Illinois, Massachusetts and elsewhere, was a convention of persons interested in the constitution and state problems, arranged jointly by the University through its Government Clearing House and the American Assembly. As the editors preface the volume "some of the problems [covered] are peculiar to Vermont, but others are matters of concern in every state house or state capitol." The report includes chapters on the constitution, population trends, state-local relations, the legislative and judicial systems and the organization of state administration.

ANNE K. STICH

Planning and Budgeting In Milwaukee County Units

Capital Budgeting in Milwaukee County: Spring 1959, prepared by Ruth Baumann and Jean Travis Smith of the University of Wisconsin Bureau of Government (Madison, 1959, 17 pages), presents a brief description of planning and budgeting activities for public improvements by Milwaukee County governmental units.

"Knowledge of planning and capital budgeting procedures varies from community to community, depending neither upon the size nor the age of the community," observes the authors. "It did appear . . . that usually one person, an elected or appointed official, was instrumental in pushing the program where a capital budgeting system has been or is being adopted. In those communities employing a manager, at least some rudimentary planning for future improvements is carried on." The authors further note "a certain correlation between a good financial picture in the community . . . and the employment of a village manager."

Reviews Local Employee Benefits

Rosaline Levenson, of the University of Connecticut Institute of Public Service, has prepared a study of non-wage remunerations offered by Connecticut local government in 1959, *Municipal Employee Benefits in Connecticut* (Storrs, 1959, 110 pages, \$2.00).

The author concludes that employee benefits "are given in piecemeal fashion, with little attention focused on the development of a well planned and coordinated program. Most of the towns and cities make the protective type of benefits (medical insurance and retirement) available to public employees and are generous in providing benefits for time not worked, such as a comparatively short work week and many holidays.

However, the towns and cities are weak in providing benefits that would prove an incentive for career-minded individuals to remain permanently with the town or city—such benefits as longevity pay increases, suggestion awards and permitting vacation and sick leave to accumulate."

New Plan, New Manager

The Institute of Government and Public Affairs of the University of Illinois devotes its November 1959 bulletin, *Illinois Government*, to the close examination of what happened in an unnamed Illinois city in the first month under the council-manager plan with a manager employed from out of town. "First Manager, First Month: An Illinois City's Experience" is written by Charles S. Liebman with rare perception. Its narrative form provides special readability and illuminates both the usefulness of an experienced manager and the precariousness of his encounters with initial problems.

R.S.C.

List Lobbyists

The California State Senate and Assembly have published a *List of Legislative Advocates and Organizations and Analysis of the Law Relating to Influencing or Attempting to Influence Legislation* (Sacramento, 1959, 68 pages including supplement).

Metro Proposals Summarized

Numerous recommendations were made by the Cleveland Metropolitan Services Commission's studies of government and services in the Cuyahoga County area. These proposals are summarized by the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research in *Metro Recommendations Summary: A Working Document* (1959, 28 pages, \$2.00).

A check list indicating the general status of action on each recommendation is included. It will be kept current and reprinted periodically.

Metropolitan Area Finance

Local Government Finances in Standard Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D. C., 1959, 148 pages, \$1.00), the sixth and last publication in Volume III, *Governmental Finances*, of the 1957 Census of Governments, has been released by the Bureau of the Census. The report surveys finances by individual standard metropolitan areas, by the areas' central portions and by population.

Describes Local Units

Patricia Stuart has brought up-to-date *Units of Local Government in Connecticut* (Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Storrs, 1959, 19 pages, 50 cents) which was compiled in 1953 by Max R. White.

The publication enumerates and describes the various types of local government in the state.

State Bibliography Issued

The Council of State Governments has prepared a bibliography "to provide a listing of sources of comparative information on state laws and administrative regulations, program features and characteristics in the various fields of state operations, and administrative organization."

Titled *State Government: An Annotated Bibliography* (Chicago, 1959, 53 pages, \$2.00), the volume is divided into two sections. The first contains general source books; the second lists reference works, articles and books pertaining to such subject headings as atomic energy, consumer credit, education and recreation.

Fund Publishes Theses

The John W. Donner Publications Fund was established at the University of Southern California during the academic year 1956-57 to support the publication of outstanding theses by Master of Science degree candidates at the

School of Public Administration. The most recent publication of the fund is *Zoning for Parking* by Max William Strauss (Los Angeles, 1959, 66 pages, \$2.00).

Compile Planning Statutes

"Planning officials and others have frequently expressed a need for a handy compilation of the basic statutes under which local planning programs may be set up and carried into effect in North Carolina," writes Philip P. Green, Jr., in *Planning Legislation in North Carolina* (Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2nd edition, 1959, 106 pages, \$2.00).

The publication brings together these basic statutes, together with citations of special acts and of other general statutes related to the work of a planning agency.

Analyze Local Finance

The University of Kansas Governmental Research Center's second report on the financial operations of the state's second class cities is titled *Municipal Finance in Kansas 1953-1956*, by James T. McDonald (Lawrence, 1959, 55 pages). The first report covered the previous period, 1948-1952.

Topics analyzed and discussed are city finance, revenues, expenditures, bonded indebtedness and capital outlay.

Review Legislative Session

The Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas continues its biennial publication of a summary of major bills introduced in the Texas legislature. In *The Fifty-sixth Texas Legislature—A Review of its Work* (Austin, 1959, 45 pages, \$1.00), it is pointed out that three special sessions were held this year because of the state's serious financial condition. This was eventually solved without resorting to an income tax or a general sales tax, leaving the state as one of the two without either. There is

also a general discussion of appropriation and other bills including those proposing constitutional amendments.

A.K.S.

Compiles Road Costs

"Connecticut municipalities spend more for the construction and maintenance of local roads than for any other single function except education. This fact makes road costs a matter of concern to taxpayers, public officials and all citizens," writes the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council in *Local Road Costs in Connecticut: 1952-53 through 1956-57* (Hartford, 1959, 43 pages).

The compilation shows how much each city and town spent for local roads, what proportion was paid from grants and from local funds and the major purposes for which the disbursements were made.

New Handbooks

Municipal government in Arizona, the office, powers and duties of the mayor and council are described by David A. Bingham, Sr., in *Handbook for Arizona Mayors and Councilmen* (Bureau of Government Research, Arizona State University, Tempe, 1959, 48 pages). The handbook contains mostly factual information with a minimum of opinion.

This year the West Virginia University Bureau of Business Research revised its *West Virginia Statistical Handbook*, with James H. Thompson as editor (Morgantown, 143 pages). The volume is divided into eighteen sections such as population, education, income, trade and transportation.

Joint Water Study

The Leagues of Women Voters of Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington have jointly published a study of the Columbia River Basin. *The Great River of the West—The Columbia River* (1959, 32 pages, map, 50 cents) gives a background description of the river's basin and its tributaries and presents the problems that have to be solved to permit the best possible use of resources. Since the problem involves the use of federal funds and controversy over their use and the role of the federal government, and because this booklet is clearly presented and well written, it has more than local interest. (Apply League of Women Voters of Washington, 7615 Sand Point Way, Seattle 15.)

A.K.S.

With the Research Bureaus

The Ohio Legislative Bureau is studying the state's judicial system. Last summer Governor DiSalle asked the legislature to study the reorganizational needs of the system and to establish a standard for future expansion of the courts.

Robert J. Huckshorn is heading a newly established Bureau of Public Affairs Research at the University of Idaho. The bureau will be primarily concerned with the roles and problems of state and local governmental officials.

Last October the Hamilton County Research Foundation published the first issue of a new monthly *Newsletter on County Government*, which will report on experiments, successes or proposals for governmental improvement of other metropolitan counties.

Books in Review

Cases in Politics

CANDIDATE, by Joseph P. Lyford. THE PURGE THAT FAILED: TAMMANY V. POWELL, by David Hapgood. MEADE ALCORN AND THE 1958 ELECTION, by Philip S. Wilder, Jr. A LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN FOR A FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE (1955), by Gus Tyler. THE MONRONEY RESOLUTION: CONGRESSIONAL INITIATIVE IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING, by James A. Robinson. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 20, 15, 16, 16, and 16 pages, respectively. 50 cents each. (Apply Eagleton Foundation, Wood Lawn, Douglass College, New Brunswick, New Jersey.)

The Eagleton Foundation at Rutgers and Henry Holt and Company are collaborating on publishing various case studies in practical politics.¹ These cases focus on such topics as a nominating or election campaign, a fund-raising operation, or events surrounding a legislative act. Their authors have been at the scene as participants and/or observers.

Joseph Lyford, author of the first case, was a candidate for Democratic congressman-at-large nomination in Connecticut during the spring of 1958. He describes his pre-convention activities of "checking in" with state and local leaders, organizing a staff and raising funds. Campaign intrigue is provided by the lack of a party organization candidate until the last crucial, convention moment. When the hand is tipped, it is not in Lyford's direction and he decides to fight the organization by proceeding through the roll call. The incident involves the old and basic political struggle for control, delegates' votes in this instance, and Lyford bows to the entrenched twelve-year Democratic state chairman.

¹ For a review of previous cases, see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1958, page 427, and NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, June 1959, page 327.

Like Lyford, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., opposed the Democratic organization candidate in the 1958 primary in New York City's 16th congressional district. David Hapgood relates the issues of the campaign and interprets the meaning of Powell's victory. His observations on minority politics are illuminating.

Philip Wilder describes the selection of Meade Alcorn as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1957 and his attempts to build a strong campaign for the coming congressional election. The author concludes: "The 1958 campaign had clearly not been successful: how much of this was his fault? As he looks back on his tour of duty in Washington, should he feel he was a failure?" The reader is left with little doubt as to how Wilder would answer these questions.

Tyler's case depicts the efforts of organized labor in 1955 to secure an act providing for a higher and more broadly based minimum wage. It established a Joint Minimum Wage Committee to direct operations in Washington. The committee began at once to build up pressure. "To get a bill through, it is necessary to work up a heavy head of steam and to do it early." Tyler describes the successful approach of the committee in providing local unions with materials and advice to elicit support of others in their area, to see and write their congressmen, to get press coverage, and to create a generally favorable climate of opinion.

Last October member nations of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund approved establishment of a new lending agency, the International Development Association. The basic idea for the institution was conceived by Senator Mike Monroney and became a Senate resolution urging consideration by the government's executive branch. The author, who was attached to the staff

of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency while the resolution was being deliberated, recounts events from the resolution's conception to Senate approval.

P.H.S.

Philadelphia Politics

THE ART OF GOVERNMENT. Reform and Organization Politics in Philadelphia. By James Reichley. New York 17, The Fund for the Republic, 1959. 128 pp. Single copies free.

This monograph narrates the political history of Philadelphia since 1949, when a new wave of reform swept over city hall and, for the first time since Sir James Bryce was writing about it in 1889, the Philadelphia Republican machine lost control. This resulted in extensive charter and operating renovations and the installation of two mayors sincerely dedicated to raising the standards of local politics. The story is well and perceptively told. It ends with appropriate uncertainty as to whether this ten-year episode will be followed by a relapse in the standards.

Narratives of this depth of political periods in our fifteen largest cities are rare and constitute much needed basic information. Evidence is scarce as to what would constitute a sound democratic mechanism for the operation of these fifteen metropolitan cities and perhaps of the new "metros" soon to come in many of the standard metropolitan areas, where problems of the democratic process encounter the great basic difficulties of our unique American unwieldy constituencies.

The Fund for the Republic could supply us with invaluable basic evidence of the favorite solutions now in effect if it continues to find such competent investigators and gives us a series of just such monographs on each of the cities above 500,000 population, not forgetting

Cincinnati which, according to the *Fortune* survey of our metropolitan cities, is the best governed in America.

R.S.C.

P. R. in Ireland

THE IRISH ELECTION SYSTEM. By J. F. S. Ross. London, Pall Mall Press, 1959. 95 pp. Paperback edition, 3/6.

For a simple, clear description of proportional representation in Ireland, Mr. Ross has written a useful handbook. It is not analytical in the political sense.

The republic of Ireland, originally the Irish Free State, uses the Hare system of P.R. for the election of members of the lower house (*Dail Eireann*). Preferential voting with counting by quotas was required by the United Kingdom Parliament in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, continued by the Irish Free State Electoral Act of 1923, and elevated to constitutional status by the new Irish Constitution of 1937.

The Fianna Fail party and its leader, Eamon de Valera, were in power at that time and were the sponsors of the new constitution. In 1959, de Valera was leaving the post of prime minister and seeking election to the titular executive office of the presidency. Concurrently, a constitutional amendment to eliminate P.R. from the constitution, which had the support of Mr. de Valera, was referred by the Irish parliament to the voters. In the ensuing election and referendum, de Valera was chosen as president but P.R. was sustained in a good margin.¹

Anticipating the 1959 referendum on P.R. in Ireland, Mr. Ross, in 1958, wrote his account of Irish electoral methods, addressing it primarily to the voters of the republic. His objective was to describe P.R., to indicate its accuracy in representing minorities and

¹ See the REVIEW, September 1959, page 429.

independents, and to forewarn the voters against its abolition. Mr. Ross's handbook is a brief for P.R. with reference to Irish experience. On factual grounds there is little to criticize. Multi-member constituencies are explained as well as methods of voting and counting, and the results of P.R. The appeal to the voters to uphold the system is restrained. They are asked to consider the impacts on party life and the disproportionate results in representation which might accrue from use of a single-member plurality basis as it now exists in Great Britain.

In the larger context of recent Irish political life, Mr. Ross has not examined in any depth the effect of P.R. in producing minority party governments (supported by the votes of independents) or interparty governments in the Free State and later in the republic. He merely challenges those who hold for single majority party governments and accordingly oppose P.R. Politics, parties, issues, elections and governments constitute an inter-relationship which is often oversimplified when attention is centered on an electoral system *per se*.

ARTHUR W. BROMAGE

University of Michigan

Politics

THE STUDY OF POLITICS. The Present State of American Political Science. By Charles S. Hyneman. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1959. xi, 232 pp. \$4.50.

"This essay is addressed to graduate students. My aim is to tell young men and young women some things it may be good to know about the profession they intend to enter. If old timers think they learn something also, they are welcome to whatever they pick up."

The author sticks to a careful analysis of the various ways in which political scientists contribute to the literature with a warning for careful separation

between a purely objective accumulation of evidence and the kind of writing which undertakes to prove a thesis in ways that are colored by the author's own convictions and purposes.

American Government

MAGRUDER'S AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. Revised by William A. McClenaghan. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1959. xii, 746 pp. \$5.44.

This long-standing classic of the high school classes across the land is, we understand, the most widely used book directed to such students. It was first published in 1917, and its late author, Frank Abbot Magruder (1882-1949), has been competently succeeded by William A. McClenaghan of the Department of Political Science at Oregon State College.

In a close scrutiny of the parts of it which touch on the programs of the National Municipal League, it is found to be clearly orthodox and there are indications that the League's publications have been unfailingly consulted although the amount of space devoted to them in the various chapters is necessarily much compressed. Excellent illustrations help to provide reality for the beginner in such subjects.

Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Corporations

PRIVATE GOVERNMENTS AND THE CONSTITUTION. By Arthur S. Miller. Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (The Fund for the Republic), 1959. 15 pp.

Criminal Procedure

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE: PRE-CODE PRACTICE, BAIL AND RECOGNIZANCE, THE GRAND JURY SYSTEM AND OTHER METH-

ODS OF PROSECUTION, EVIDENCE and ARRAIGNMENT AND PLEADINGS. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1959. 21, 48, 71, 37 and 39 pp. respectively.

Debt

IMMUNITY OF MUNICIPAL BONDS—CURRENT PROBLEMS. By Austin J. Tobin. Address before the Municipal Forum of New York, October 29, 1959. New York, the Forum, 1959. 18 pp. (Apply Arthur R. Guastella, *The Bond Buyer*, 67 Pearl Street, New York 4.)

Economics

THE CORPORATION AND THE ECONOMY. By W. H. Ferry. Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (The Fund for the Republic), 1959. 122 pp.

ECONOMICS AND THE POLICY MAKER. (Brookings Lectures, 1958-1959.) By Sidney S. Alexander, Gerhard Colm, Neil H. Jacoby, Louis Shere, Robert V. Roosa, Sumner H. Slichter, Mark S. Massel and Everett E. Hagen. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1959. xi, 209 pp. \$2.95.

EDUCATION FOR THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF TOMORROW. A Report of a Symposium in Conjunction with Tenth Anniversary Observance of the Joint Council on Economic Education 1949-1959. New York 36, the Council, 1959. 64 pp.

Housing

PUBLIC HOUSING IN ACTION—THE RECORD OF PITTSBURGH. By Robert K. Brown. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. xv, 107 pp. \$3.00.

RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION: PRIVATE PROFITS AND PUBLIC PURPOSES. By William W. Nash. Directed and with a Preface by Miles L. Colean. (One of a Series in Housing and Community Development of the American Council To Improve Our Neighborhoods.) New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959. xxix, 272 pp. \$8.00.

Inflation

INFLATION. Edited by Alfred G. Buehler. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, November 1959. vii, 138 pp. \$2.00.

Manuals

MASSACHUSETTS MUNICIPAL MANUAL 1959. Prepared under the Supervision of Boston University, Bureau of Public Administration. Portland, Maine, Fred L. Tower Companies, Municipal Manual Division, 1959. 106 pp. \$10.

Politics

LET'S RETURN POLITICS TO THE PEOPLE. By Thomas R. Reid. An address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. Dearborn, Michigan, Ford Motor Company, September 1959. 16 pp. (Apply Charles F. Moore, Jr., Vice President, Public Relations and Advertising, Ford Motor Company, The American Road, Dearborn.)

Public Health

PUBLIC HEALTH MEANS YOUR HEALTH. Cincinnati 2, Hamilton County Research Foundation, 1959. 12 pp.

Public Libraries

PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICES. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, September 1959. 89 pp.

Refuse Disposal

REFUSE AND GARBAGE DISPOSAL IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Report of Refuse and Garbage Disposal Committee, Metropolitan Study Commission. By Dr. Charles D. Goff. Milwaukee, the Commission, September 1959. 89 pp.

Shopping Centers

THE SHOPPING CENTER REVOLUTION, EVOLUTION AND TRENDS. By James B. Douglas. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, November 1959. 7 pp. \$1.00.

Taxation and Finance

THE COUNTY FISCAL CONTROL ACT WITH THE HISTORY OF EACH SECTION, LOCAL MODIFICATIONS, COURT DECISIONS AND ATTORNEY GENERAL'S RULINGS. By David S. Evans. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, November 1959. 76 pp.

DETAIL OF STATE TAX COLLECTIONS IN 1959. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, November 6, 1959. 30 pp. 25 cents.

IMPROVEMENT FINANCING AND PLANNING FOR MEDIUM AND SMALL SIZED MUNICIPALITIES. By S. G. Fullerton, Jr., Lawrence W. Larson, John F. Still, K. H. Allyn and Wellman L. Scudder. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, November 1959. 30 pp. 50 cents.

WITHHOLDING F. I. C. A. TAX FROM WAGES. F. I. C. A. Tax Tables for Use by State and Local Governments Participating in Federal Social Security. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, November 16, 1959. 8 pp. 75 cents.

Urban Growth

PROBLEMS OF URBAN GROWTH IN ARKANSAS. Part I: The Future of Arkansas Cities—Will the Challenge of Industrialization Be Met? By Ralph Gray. Prepared for the Business Executives Research Committee of the Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, College of Business Administration, Industrial Research and Extension Center, November 1958. 57 pp.

Water

WATER FOR RECREATION—TODAY AND TOMORROW. Philadelphia, Water Research Foundation for the Delaware River Basin, 1959. 26 pp. Map.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 29)

then move again by laborious procedures to switch from the commission form to one or the other of the newly available optional forms. The new law enables them to move directly to either the mayor and council form or the council-manager form without going through the intermediate status of having the commission form.

There are many large Pennsylvania boroughs and towns in a condition that encourages such action.

R.S.C.

City Consolidates School Taxing Districts

The voters of Middletown, Connecticut, have voted overwhelmingly for consolidation of that city's two school districts and two taxing districts. The two boards of education are uniting as a single board, to serve until the next city election, in 1961. The two street departments are also merging. A sanitation district, to handle garbage collection, and also a fire district, have been newly created by special act.

Minnesota League Regional Meetings Set Record

Sixteen regional meetings of the League of Minnesota Municipalities in 1959 broke several attendance records.

First, the 296 cities and villages represented at these meetings substantially exceeded the previous record of 270, set last year.

Second, the total attendance of 1,626 was higher than last year's record total of 1,590.

Third, the New Ulm meeting broke the single meeting attendance record with a total of 200 delegates and guests. The old record—182 present—was also set by New Ulm, in 1954.

Honors, Activities of League Leaders

Active leaders in business and civic circles, National Municipal League officers and Council members have appeared recently in the news. Reports included the following:

President William Collins has been elected president of the Salvation Army Association of New York. Mr. Collins is president of Walter Kidde Constructors, with offices in New York, Houston, Baton Rouge and San Francisco.

Vice President Arthur B. Langlie, president of McCall Corporation, has accepted the chairmanship of the organization's annual appeal.

Vice President John S. Linen served



William Collins



Arthur B. Langlie

recently on a civic committee to review a proposal to use surplus revenues of the New Jersey Turnpike to provide financial assistance to commuter railroads.

A new volunteer group to fight inflation has been formed under the leadership of H. Bruce Palmer, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and regional vice president of the League.

Regional Vice President Norris Nash has been named a director of ACTION. Mr. Nash, vice president of Kaiser Industries Corporation, Oakland, Cali-

fornia, is also president of the Oakland Renewal Foundation.

Regional Vice President J. Raburn Monroe, New Orleans, has been elected to the board of directors of Equitable Life Assurance Society.

The first Earl Kribben Award for Distinguished Service to the Metropoli-



Norris Nash



H. Bruce Palmer

tan Community, established to honor the memory of Mr. Kribben, Chicago civic leader who died last summer, was conferred posthumously on Mr. Kribben by the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, of which Mr. Kribben was president. The



Earl Kribben



John S. Linen

award was received by Mrs. Kribben. Mr. Kribben was a member of the League's Council.

Council Member Edwin D. Dodd has been chosen vice president of the Owens-Illinois Glass Company and general manager, paper products division.

Jury Hears 22 Stories on Cities

(Continued from page 2)

HAWAII; James A. Norton, Rev. George A. Fallon, School Superintendent William B. Edwards and Mayor Frank P. Celeste, LAKEWOOD, OHIO; Don C. Diers and Robert W. Scarffe, LAMAR, COLORADO;

Also, Mayor W. Fred Duckworth and former Governor Colgate W. Darden, Jr., NORFOLK, VIRGINIA; Col. R. Giménez-De la Rosa, SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO; Youth Council members Barney Martinez, Kathleen Burton, Steve Dickinson and Valerie Yapelli, SANTA FE SPRINGS, CALIFORNIA;

Also, James R. Ellis and Mrs. Adeline LeMere, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON; T. M. Whicher, SIOUX CITY, IOWA; Mayor Thomas J. O'Connor, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS; Henry H. Kilpatrick, VALLEJO, CALIFORNIA; Bernie R. Diamond and Mayor Stanley W. Poulsen, WASHINGTON TERRACE, UTAH; Salem College President Dale H. Gramley, WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA.

C. C. Ludwig Retires

C. C. Ludwig, for many years a REVIEW correspondent and a key leader in municipal improvement efforts in Minnesota, retired this summer and moved to San Jose, California.

Professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, he was executive secretary of the Minnesota League of Municipalities and director of the Municipal Reference Bureau for 24 years. Constant advisor to municipal officials, he is a leading exponent of nonpartisan local elections.

Addresses Women Voters

John P. Wheeler, Jr., director of the League's State Constitutional Studies

Project, addressed a constitutional revision project held under the auspices of the League of Women Voters of West Virginia.

Talks to Civic Group

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, shared the platform with village managers of neighboring communities at a meeting of the Pelham (New York) Civic Association.

Two Correspondents Added for REVIEW

New REVIEW correspondents have been appointed for Hawaii, the 50th state, and for Arkansas.



Glenn G. Zimmerman



Norman Meller

Norman Meller, professor of government at the University of Hawaii, was also director from 1947 to 1955 of the Legislative Reference Bureau, the drafting arm of the legislature and research arm of both the legislative and executive branches of the government. Dr. Meller, a lawyer as well as a political scientist, previously was deputy legislative counsel of California.

Glenn G. Zimmerman, executive director of the Arkansas Municipal League since 1942, served four terms as city attorney of North Little Rock. Previously he was employed in the legal division of the Department of Agriculture in Washington.

Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

| | |
|--|--------|
| Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 32 pages (1959) | \$.25 |
| Charts: Council-Manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-Council Form (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 22"), 50 cents each, set of three | 1.00 |
| Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1958) | .25 |
| Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1959) | .05 |
| City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1959) | .05 |
| Comments of Labo. Union Leaders in Council-Manager Cities (mimeo- graphed), 6 pages (1959) | .10 |
| P. R. [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955) | .05 |
| The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1958) | 1.00 |
| The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1958) | 1.00 |
| (The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.50) | |

Model Laws

| | |
|--|------|
| Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946) | .75 |
| Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948) | .75 |
| Model City Charter, 172 pages (1941) | 1.50 |
| Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953) | 1.00 |
| Model County Charter, 109 pages (1956) | 1.50 |
| Model Direct Primary Election System, 46 pages (1951) | 1.00 |
| Model Investment of State Funds Law, 38 pages (1954) | 1.00 |
| Model Municipal Revenue Bond Law, 31 pages (1958) | 1.00 |
| Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 60 pages (1954) | 1.00 |
| Model State and Regional Planning Law, 73 pages (1955) | 1.00 |
| Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953) | .75 |
| Model State Constitution, 63 pages (1948) | 1.00 |
| Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 40 pages (1954) | .50 |
| Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957) | 1.00 |

Other Pamphlets and Books

| | |
|--|------|
| American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946) | .35 |
| Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1957) | .15 |
| Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952) | 3.50 |
| Coroners—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 102 pages mimeographed (1959) | 2.00 |
| Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 82 pages (1958) | 2.00 |
| Compilation of the 48 Direct Primary Systems, 55 pages (1958) | 2.00 |
| Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1957) | 1.00 |
| Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 447 pages (1954) | 4.00 |
| Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 40 pages (1959) | .50 |
| New Era, New Thinking—Transition to Metropolitan Living, by Luther Gulick (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW) 8 pages (1959) | .15 |
| New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955) | .50 |
| Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951) | .10 |
| Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940) | .25 |

Discount on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building
47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

WANTED

National Municipal Review for March and May 1958

An unprecedented demand has exhausted copies of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for the months listed above. The League will be glad to pay 25 cents per copy for the return of these issues.

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building

47 East 68th Street

New York 21, N. Y.

Latest Word On the Council-Manager Plan!

It's a pleasure to announce that two of our most popular works on the council-manager form of local government are now available in new, revised editions.

The Story of the Council-Manager Plan

27th Edition, 32 Pages, 25¢. (Contains a directory of 1,652 places where the plan is in effect.)

Manager Plan Abandonments

5th Edition, By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, 40 Pages, 50¢.

Discount on Quantity Orders — Write for Details

Indispensable tools for the conscientious civic worker, state and local official, political scientist and newsman.

National Municipal League

47 East 68th Street

New York 21, N. Y.

